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ABSTRACT

This proceedings of an international conference examines the nature of school self-management around the world. The volume opens with the keynote address by, Tony Townsend, which provides an overview of school self-management, effective education, and the school-effectiveness movement. Some of the topics addressed include student achievement, the purpose of resource allocation, and market forces. The next three papers offer a response to the keynote address. The first, by Kathie Irwin, centers on Maori education in New Zealand and claims that the self-managing school has not been shown to have a marked effect on improving student achievement. The second and third responses, by Graeme Marshall and Nola Hambleton describe the difficulty in defining school effectiveness. The next paper, by Cathy Wylie, explores school self-management in New Zealand, claiming that there are few data to allow comparisons before and after the introduction of school self-management. Frances Salt discusses policy and research questions concerning school self-management and school effectiveness in the following article. The effectiveness of schools in certain geographical regions and other issues are also discussed in the last two papers, by Howard Fancy and Richard Harker, examine what it will take to manage schools in a changing environment, the importance of professional leadership, and the need for a coherent approach in education. (RJM)

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EFFECTIVE SCHOOL SELF-MANAGEMENT

– WHAT'S AHEAD?

Conference Proceedings

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EFFECTIVE SCHOOL SELF-MANAGEMENT — WHAT'S AHEAD?

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
OCTOBER 1998

Compiled by Bev Webber

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Wellington
1998

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
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SCHOOL SELF-MANAGEMENT AND EFFECTIVE EDUCATION—COMPATIBLE?

Associate Professor Tony Townsend
Faculty of Education
Monash University

Introduction

It gives me great pleasure to be here with you today, and I thank the organisers for thinking enough of my work to invite me to address you. I have been to New Zealand a number of times and always feel welcome. In 1987, I brought a group of Australians to a conference in the North Island where we were welcomed onto marae in Rotorua and Tokoroa and I would like to pay tribute to both of those Maori groups who helped me to understand a little more about their culture and, in doing so, a little bit more about myself.

I count myself as one of the more fortunate people in education, having been in the position of being able see schools, and work with the people who are concerned about them, in many parts of the world. I have met with Ministers of Education and Secretaries of Education, including perhaps the most powerful education bureaucrat in the world, US Secretary of Education, Richard Riley. I have visited richer and poorer schools in over twenty countries, from informal schools high up in the barrios of Caracas in Venezuela, to schools surrounded by razor wire in the settlements of Johannesburg, from small rural schools in Pacific Island countries such as Tonga, Vanuatu and the Cook Islands, to depressed urban schools in Memphis and Chicago. The common factor that I have seen in all of these schools is a care and concern by teachers and parents for the welfare of students. I can honestly say that I have never met a teacher that was not providing, to the best of his or her knowledge and ability, a learning environment aimed at helping children achieve. What I have seen, all around the world, are people working against all of the odds to help children learn.

Yet there is an underlying concern that we are not yet getting it right. The education reform movement has been around now for more than twenty years. Reports such as Boyson's (1975) *The Crisis in Education,* and *The Black Papers* (Cox and Boyson, 1977) in Britain and *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), *Education and Economic Progress* (Carnegie Corporation, 1983), *Investing in Our Children* (Committee on Economic Development, 1985) and *Who Will Teach Our Children?* (Commons, 1985) in the USA, indicated government and public concern about school education and created a climate in which the relationship between education and competitiveness on the international market became inextricably linked. Yet, today, after at least a decade of substantial reform, the variation in achievement levels between students seems to be widening.

What I hope to do today is to look at the broader issues related to this attempt at reform and I wish to focus on three major areas. The first considers the broader societal context in which we are all working, trying to provide a reason why reform is happening at this time in our history and to touch on the imperatives that are driving the direction of this reform. The second considers the school effectiveness movement which has had the dual purpose of creating the argument for many of the reforms that have been implemented but can also be used as a means of measuring how successful the reform attempts have been, and the third looks quite specifically at one aspect of that reform, the self-managing school, which is currently sweeping both developed and developing countries around the world and seems to be an unstoppable event, together with the impact that that reform has had on education. Finally, I wish to make some general statements as to where we might be headed into the future, if we are genuinely concerned about education for all of the people in our communities.

Although I will use the international literature as a means for justifying what I will say, my major source material emerges from the Victorian education system in Australia, with which I am most familiar. Victoria, like New Zealand, has adopted the self-managing school model as a means of reforming its education system, and is currently proposing that some government schools be given the opportunity to go even further, to become self-governing schools.

The Context of Reform

If we look at human history, it will not take us long to discover at least two things have been the dominant shapers of our current society. First, human progress never seems to stop and it seems to be happening at an ever-increasing rate. Second, the emerging globalisation of the economy has changed the way in which we think about ourselves and the world. Both of these factors have impacted on our communities more in the recent past than ever before. The first can be characterised by the rapidly approaching Third Millennium, where technology will lead us to the possibility of virtual schools (and perhaps everything else) and the second can be characterised as a concerted attempt by the rich and powerful to change the nature of human relations through the development of what has been called a '20:80 society, where 20 percent of the population will suffice to keep the world economy going and the unemployed 80 percent will be pacified by a diet of 'tittytainment'—that is, the modern equivalent of bread and circuses but without nearly so much bread' (Martin and Schumann, 1997).

Technology and Education

It appears that technology has its own version of Zeno's Paradox (the Greek philosopher that suggested if you took half of a pile of sand, then repeatedly took half of what was left, you would never actually have no sand left). Technological change has increased rapidly, as was pointed out in 1970 by Alvin Toffler in *Future Shock,* and it continues to speed up. We think that it must slow down sometime soon, but it never does. We might be getting closer and closer to the limits of human ingenuity but we are not there yet, and possibly will never be.

For instance, Table 1 shows it was 116 years between the first manned flight (in a balloon) and the first powered flight at Kitty Hawk. It took nearly four generations to move from the first phase of flight until the second. In the subsequent three generations we have moved through jet engines to moon walking and reusable spacecraft.

Table 1
Developments in Flight

Event	Year	Years Ago	Generations Ago
First Balloon	1784	214	7
Zeppelin	1900	98	3
Powered Flight	1903	95	3
First Jet Flight	1942	56	2
First Space Flight	1957	41	1.3
Man on Moon	1969	29	1
Reusable Spacecraft	1977	21	7

There was a similar time span (107 years) between the first formalised means of communication between people, the wire telegraph, and the first powered means of communication, the wireless telegraph, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Developments in Communication

Event	Year	Years Ago	Generations Ago
Wire Telegraph	1794	204	6.5
Wireless Telegraph	1891	107	3.5
First Radio Programme	1906	92	3
First Colour TV	1928	70	2.3
First Computer	1942	56	2
TransAtlantic Cable	1957	41	1.3
Home computers	1976	22	0.7
Home Video recorders	1979	19	0.6
CD-Rom	1990	8	0.2
World-Wide Web/Internet	1994	4	0.1

For instance, in the 1860s, the death of Abraham Lincoln was not reported in London until 12 days later, the speed of travelling on water, but just two generations later, radio had been invented and the disaster of the Hindenberg Airship was graphically portrayed as it happened to listeners all over America. Less than three generations further on from the radio, the Macintosh computer that I now use uses gigabytes instead of kilobytes. I walked into a computer shop recently where they were displaying an Apple IIC, which was on the market for $1745 just ten years ago. The same computer now is worthless and for the same amount of money today I can get a computer thousands of times more powerful. Many of the programmes Victorian schools receive by satellite today are totally edited at Monash University on a Macintosh computer with more than a million times the memory of the first Apple of just twenty years ago. I am now able to access instantly millions of computer sites all around the world through Internet. I cannot walk out of a computer shop with a new computer without it being obsolete by the time I get it home. It took four generations to move from the pony telegraph to radio, but the subsequent three generations have seen massive changes.

We need to ask ourselves what sorts of skills students who are currently in the early years of their school career will need by the time they 'emerge' from school 'into the world' of 2010. The simple answer, if we accept the rapidity of change that I have indicated above, is 'We don't know'. But educators do need to make some predictions about what the future will be like, and how we need to provide our students with the skills to deal with it, or the rest of the world will make them for us. I think the past decade provides ample evidence of what can happen when educational decision-making is taken out of the hands of educators.

You will notice the terms that I used: 'emerge' and 'into the world'. It seems that education in the past was a preparation for life rather than being part of life. Perhaps this gulf between schools and the real world is best expressed by Donald Carr (1942:34), who more than fifty years ago wrote:

> Many schools are like little islands set apart from the mainland of life by a deep moat of convention and tradition. Across the moat there is a drawbridge, which is lowered at certain periods during the day in order that the part-time inhabitants may cross over to the island in the morning and go back to the mainland at night. Why do these young people go out to the island? They go there in order to learn how to live on the mainland.

It is almost a case of the John Lennon song: 'Life is what happens to you while you are busy making other plans'. We need to ask ourselves 'How much have schools changed since 1942?', but also 'How much more do schools need to change in the next ten years?'

It is obvious that technology will have far greater impact on education in the future than it has up until now. How we address the development of technology in the future will be one of the critical issues for everyone involved in education. The early years of the Third Millennium will probably identify the answers. Bill Gates has argued that we have seriously overestimated the extent to which technology will develop over the next five years, but have seriously underestimated its development over the next fifty. We now need to deal with the possibility that, somewhere in the not too distant future, we will have virtual classrooms, with students plugging their helmet and gloves into their computer at home to become virtually surrounded by their classmates and the teacher. Or we could have students walking out their front door onto the Steppes of Africa or the ice of Antarctica. Such a development is no more or less feasible than the Internet would have been to the scientists of the 1940s who would walk for five minutes to get from one end of their computer to the other.

Globalisation of the Economy

It wasn't so long ago that we used to argue that we should make our children literate and numerate because it would make them better people. At present, however, the argument is strongly tilted towards the idea that we should make our children literate and numerate because it makes the country more viable economically. The dominant theme for restructuring education is to make individuals, and therefore their countries more competitive in the global economy.

However, maintaining first world living standards for all is not compatible with manufacturing goods that can compete with third world salaries and prices. To accomplish first world living standards these days means a country, any country must be prepared to have a majority of its population working for something akin to third world wages so that a small proportion of the population can maintain their first world standards.

To provide an example of what this means we did some research (*see* Townsend and Walker, 1998, pp. 83–85) on how Australia has changed since current year 12 students were starting their school career. I would challenge you to do a similar exercise in New Zealand, to find out how economic circumstances have changed for the ordinary people in your country. The results may surprise you. As the tables below show, Australia is a very different place from that of the mid to late 1980s. One of the most dramatic changes has been a shift in employment, which has brought with it changes in the financial, social and welfare positions of both individual families and whole communities.

Total employment grew by around 17 percent between 1987 and 1996, from just over 7 million to 8.3 million people. However, a more detailed analysis shows that the growth patterns were not uniform. Table 3 indicates that the unemployment rates in 1996 were approximately the same as those of 1984, but youth unemployment was significantly higher.

Table 3

Changes in Employment

	Australia		Australia	
Employment	1987	%	1995–6	%
Full time	5,656,200		6,260,500	
Part-time	1,416,900		2,029,200	
Male Unemployment		8.7		8.7
Female Unemployment		8.3		9.3
15–19 Unemployment		20.6		34.7
20–24 Unemployment		17.7		19.4

Table 4 shows there is also a rapidly changing proportion of people that are employed part-time rather than being fully employed. It indicates that although overall growth in employment was 17 percent, the growth in full time jobs was just 11 percent. Most of the new jobs were part-time.

Table 4

Employment Growth

Growth in Employment in Australia 1987–96	Full time %	Part-time %	All employment %
Male under 25	12.5	57.7	–0.3
Male 25–55	11.8	79.4	14.3
Male over 55	1.9	56.1	8.6
Total Male	6.0	65.0	11.0
Female under 25	–17.8	65.2	6.7
Female 25–55	38.1	29.2	34.3
Female over 55	25.1	49.5	36.7
Total Female	20.0	38.0	27.0
Total Employment	11.0	43.0	17.0

What these tables indicate is that much of the responsibility for growth in employment has been thrust upon people, particularly women, who are prepared to work part-time. There has been very little growth in employment for younger people who leave school early. The most disadvantaged groups, in terms of employment are young people under 25 and older men over 55.

These factors have an impact on education too, because the shift from full time to part-time employment has had the effect of lowering the overall income levels of families, thus making it necessary for both parents to work. With both parents working, the levels of family support and guidance, particularly for those mentioned above, have diminished. The changing patterns of work (or non-work) may be the root cause of many of society's current ills.

Tables 5 and 6 compare the purchasing power of the 1984 family with that of 1997. They indicate that, on average, families in 1997 are not as well off as those of 1984. In 1984, the average wage was $375 per week and by 1996 this had increased to $715 per week. But not all people had access to that average wage. Many were working part-time and those that were working full time were working longer hours than previously. In other words, those that were fully employed were now much richer than those with part-time jobs.

Table 5

Mean Household Weekly Income

Mean Household Weekly Income	Income 1984 $	Income 1997 $	Increase %
Lowest 20% of households	116	152	31
2nd lowest 20%	238	354	49
3rd lowest 20%	389	592	52
4th lowest 20%	569	909	60
Top 20% of households	957	1609	68
Average across Australia	454	723	58

Tables 5 and 6, together, show us that whereas less than 60 percent of families had a household income less than the average adult weekly earnings in 1984, by 1997 this had risen to approximately 70 percent of households. Average weekly household income increased by 58 percent over the period 1984 to 1997, but this was more than offset by an increase of 66 percent in average weekly expenditure per household.

Table 6

Mean Household Weekly Expenditure

Mean Household Weekly Income and Expenditure	Expenditure 1984 $	Expenditure 1997 $	Increase %
Lowest 20% of household	164	303	85
2nd lowest 20%	262	426	63
3rd lowest 20%	347	573	65
4th lowest 20%	428	714	67
Top 20% of households	607	994	64
Average across Australia	362	602	66

The increases in income and expenditure also were not uniform across the income groupings. The figures indicate that, on average, families in the lowest 20 percent of household income (generally on government pensions) spent about $150 per week more than they brought in (utilising savings, credit cards or other lending facilities) but families in the top 20 percent of household income were able to save about $600 every week. If we compare income and expenditure patterns over the time indicated, the only group of Australian people who were better off financially in 1997 than they were in 1984 were the top 20 percent of income earners. On average 80 percent of the population were worse off.

The household income and expenditure figures confirm anecdotal evidence provided by welfare groups, such as the Smith Family and the Brotherhood of St Laurence (1996), that families at the lower end of income generation are having to deal with an unacceptable proportion of the economic changes that have taken place. A recent report by Monash researcher Bob Birrell, (Milburn, 1997:1), suggests than up to one in three adults and 41 percent of children rely on government welfare payments to survive. In real terms the number of children in chronically poor homes (1995 incomes less than $24,000) has risen from 93,000 in 1987 to 688,000 in 1995. It could be argued that this information suggests that the Australian community is rapidly heading towards the characteristics of a third world nation, with a few people improving their standards of living at the expense of the majority of the population. Martin and Schumann (1997), in their book *The Global Trap*, suggest that this movement towards a 20:80 society is worldwide and is controlled by multinational companies making decisions for their own, rather than the community's, benefit.

But why is this happening? Anil Bordia (1996), at a recent UNESCO Conference, argued 'The world has enough resources for human need, but not enough for human greed'. Galbraith (1992) argues we have lost the commitment to the common good. We no longer see beyond our own needs to the necessity of providing a basic standard of living for everyone. In another place (Townsend, 1998: xx-xxii), I have argued that the onset of user-pays for human service delivery seemed to come along at the same time as that most powerful group in our society, the 'baby-boomers' reached an age where they no longer had children who needed an education, but were still young enough not to have grandchildren that needed one, not did they, in general, need substantial medical care.

Evidence of this movement away from 'community service' can be found by the introduction of 'user pay' schemes, not only in business, but increasingly in health, in social services and now in education. But it seems that, in many cases, the people who most need the service can't afford to pay and those that can afford to pay don't need the service. The user pays mentality exacerbates this problem because it not only causes problems for individuals but actually leads to the demise of services. If the only people who require a service are those that cannot afford to use it, then the service itself becomes unviable and is likely to attract even less government funding on the basis that no-one uses the service.

These economic factors have implications for education and, in particular, state education. Table 7 indicates that the proportion of families with dependent children struggling against all the economic odds is growing each year.

Table 7

Dependent children in low income homes

	Australia 1984 %	Australia 1997 %
% of families with dependent children in the lowest 40% of income categories	7	17

The overwhelming majority of these families will send their child to the local government school. They cannot afford a private school because the fees are out of reach (although some might send their children to low fee-paying denominational schools) and the issues of choice of government school will have little impact as they do not have the resources to send their children to anything but the closest school (*see* Watson et al., 1997). The implementation of the market view of education means nothing to them and, at a time when they are struggling more and more to make ends meet, the responsibility for funding state education seems to be shifting more and more onto the family. The user-pays system in education, as it is in other things, is only of value if you have the money to pay for the service.

The changes in technology, together with the move towards a 'user-pays' view of education have many implications for schooling. It is within this context of change, of the economy, of social systems, of technology and of our comprehension of what a school should be, that the self-managing school has made its mark. These factors have led me to argue (Townsend, 1998a) that in Australia, rather than heading towards the Third Millennium, we may well be heading towards a Third World country instead.

However, many other reasons have been given for the emergence of the self-managing school. Perhaps the most comprehensive description has been provided by Brian Caldwell, a leading proponent of devolution, who argued:

> Forces which have shaped current and emerging patterns of school management include a concern for efficiency in the management of public education, effects of the recession and financial crisis, complexity in the provision of education, empowerment of teachers and parents, the need for flexibility and responsiveness, the search for school effectiveness and school improvement, interest in choice and market forces in schooling, the politics of education, the establishment of new frameworks for industrial relations and the emergence of a national imperative.
>
> Caldwell (1993: xiii)

The issue of effectiveness has been one of the driving forces in the argument for self-managing schools, and I would like to spend a little time now considering how that has come about.

The Impact of School Effectiveness Research on Educational Reform

It could be argued that the impetus for school effectiveness research came about as a response to the findings of a national study in the United States. The Coleman Report (1966), investigated the relationship between the equality of educational outcomes and pupil socio-economic backgrounds, and concluded:

> Schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context . . . this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighbourhood and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. For equality of educational opportunity must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's immediate environment, and that strong independence is not present in American schools.
>
> (Coleman *et al.*, 1966:325).

The past twenty years has seen the development of a substantial body of research that tried to make the case that schools did, indeed, make a difference. However, a major difficulty has been the description of what it means to be an effective school. As Judith Chapman (1991) pointed out:

> The concept of 'effectiveness' is central to the management of schools and school systems; nevertheless as yet there exists no uniform definition of an 'effective school'. Definitions vary depending on the orientation or theory of those examining the issue.
>
> (Chapman, 1991:7)

Many definitions have been proposed, but none have found universal acceptance. Chapman (1992) identified school effectiveness as one of what Gaillie (1964) called 'essentially contested concepts'. Since there will be a number of different perspectives of the goals of education in general, and of the role school plays in the fulfilment of those goals then, necessarily, the perspectives of what makes a school effective will vary as well. This is a critical argument, because it provides some measure of understanding for the direction the debate has taken so far.

Defining School Effectiveness

If we take a raw definitional view of the term 'school effectiveness', then an effective school is one that has an effect. By its actions it has caused or produced a result. But if a raw definition is treated as being value free, it is unlikely to have any real meaning, since it is highly unlikely that anyone would use the term 'effective' to describe a school which brought about undesirable outcomes. It is obvious that for schools to continue to draw funds from the public purse, then the effect must be a positive one from the public perception. An effective school therefore must have some stated (or unstated) objectives that have a close connection to public educational goals. An early definition provided this form of framework. In their view, an effective school can be defined as such, 'to the extent that there is congruence between its objectives and achievements. In other words it is effective to the extent that it accomplishes what it sets out to do' (Madaus *et al.*, 1980:22).

To many of the early researchers in the United States and Canada, an effective school was one whose students performed well on standardised tests, characterised by an early definition by Edmonds that:

> Specifically, I require that an effective school bring the children of the poor to those minimal masteries of basic school skills that now describe minimally successful pupil performances for the children of the middle class.
>
> (Edmonds, 1978:3)

The early American work, focused on student achievement as identified by state or national standardised testing, was concerned only with student outcomes at a particular point in time. Researchers in the United Kingdom, on the other hand, were more concerned about the rate of improvement shown by students in the school and understanding the nature of the relationship between school process variables and content variables and the individual child's performance. This concern was brought about by what might be considered as the value-added view of school effectiveness. Schools were not to be judged simply on the results of standardised tests, since these results may have been more a factor of the children themselves rather than of anything the school had 'added', but on the basis of what development the students had made during the course of their school career.

Research, such as that by Rutter *et al.* (1979), Cuttance (1986, 1988a,b,c) and Mortimore *et al.* (1986; 1988) acknowledged the more complex interactions that needed to be addressed at the school level and a different view of school effectiveness emerged. The Mortimore study of fifty English junior schools, sought to 'find a way of comparing schools' effects on their pupils, while acknowledging the fact that schools do not all receive pupils of similar abilities and backgrounds' (Mortimore *et al.*, 1988:176). Factors such as the ethnic composition, language background, social class and family composition of the pupils, together with other considerations, were all used as relevant data to assist in the determination of the gains that pupils made during their time at school. The study not only considered attainment, but progress as well, in academic areas such as reading, mathematics, writing and oracy, and also the non-cognitive areas of behaviour, attendance, self-concept and attitudes towards school.

Using such a value-added approach, decisions could be made, for instance, to test every student in a range of subject areas upon entry to school and before school completion to determine how much the student has learned in the time spent at school. This might in turn be judged against national or state expectations for children of similar socio-economic backgrounds. Should all or most children achieve these expectations, then the school might be considered effective. This need to determine how much the school has contributed to a student's achievement has led the Victorian government to introduce standardised testing for students as they start the first year of their school. The difficulty with this approach is that it might be perceived as accepting that standards in poorer areas can be below those in more affluent areas, thus reinforcing the differences that school effectiveness was trying to eliminate.

Banks (1993) argued that even the value-added definition can be looked at in two different ways: we can have basic value-added effectiveness, which adds value to all children equally, thus maintaining their initial advantages or disadvantages, or mediating effectiveness, which brings advantaged and disadvantaged children closer together over time. She uses (Banks, 1993:3) a staircase analogy:

> . . . with children standing on a step which represents their traditional level of advantage or disadvantage in the learning stakes. The more advantaged (say, those from wealthy families or white male children) are on the higher steps. With value-adding effectiveness all children move up one or more steps but the distance between the most and least advantaged remains the same. For mediating effectiveness, the children on the lower steps move up more steps than those higher up and so the distance between the most and least advantaged becomes less.

In Australia, the emphasis placed on student performance on standardised achievement tests as the key measurement of an 'effective' school, as proposed by Edmonds (1978), originally met with various levels of scepticism. Chapman (1988) provided ample evidence that, although there was no commonly agreed upon understanding of what an effective school was, there were a number of Australian researchers such as Angus (1986), Ashenden (1987) and Banks (1988) that clearly indicated their concern that a concentration on effectiveness as it had been originally defined by Edmonds meant a diminution of concern about other equally relevant educational issues, such as equality, participation and social justice. That is, they were sure of what it was not.

Angus (1986) argued that simplistic notions of 'effectiveness' and 'school improvement' could lead to a series of activities which were 'socially conservative and educationally regressive'. Ashenden (1987) argued that performance indicators which could be used as the arbitrary determinants of school effectiveness diminished issues of social justice. The Victorian State Board of Education (1986), reflecting the political position of the incumbent government of the time, cautioned:

> That defining outcomes as achievement on standardised tests may induce schools to begin a major re-allocation of resources into basic skill areas at the cost of other areas of curriculum.
>
> (Victorian State Board of Education, 1986:12)

Banks (1988) went as far to suggest that, although Australia had been responsive to the effective schools literature, there were other features of its society and current directions in education that rendered a test-oriented concept as virtually untenable.

> Policies have been developed by two education systems which were drawn from overseas effective schools movement literature, particularly that of North America, but these policies have never achieved prominence in their systems, events in the broader political arena rendering them incompatible with other policy initiatives.
>
> (Banks, 1988:1)

However, the implementation of school reform in Australia generally has seen governments around the country reverting to standardised testing as a means of determining how well schools are travelling. The Victorian system has now developed this almost as an art form, by type-casting every school in the state on the basis of their student population. Schools are placed into one of nine categories determined by whether they have high, medium or low proportions of students from poorer backgrounds (those on an Educational Maintenance Allowance) and students with Non-English Speaking Backgrounds. All standardised test results are aggregated across the state so each school can see how well it is performing compared to all schools in the state and compared to schools with similar populations to their own.

Until the 1991 National Effective Schools Project (ESP), there was very little research in Australia that could be considered as part of the research into effective schools. The ESP defined an effective school as 'one that achieves greater student learning than might have been predicted from the context in which it [the school] works' (McGaw *et al.*, 1991:2). The value-added contribution of the school, rather than simply the gross achievement of the student was accepted as critical to the debate.

The issue of decentralisation brought additional difficulties for defining school effectiveness, because schools not only had to be effective from the perspective of the school system, but also within their local community. A narrow focus on academic goals could no longer be enough. Townsend (1994) found that the expectations of school communities varied, not only from school to school, but also from region to region. His research showed that, in a region of the Victorian Ministry of Education that was predominantly middle class, many parents, teachers and students felt that the major role of school was academic (to prepare people for further education), whereas in a more working class region parents, teachers and students were much more supportive of the role of the school being vocational (to prepare people for work). These differences led to the possibility that future definitions of an effective school should incorporate both systemic and local concerns:

> An effective school is one that develops and maintains a high quality educational programme designed to achieve both system-wide and locally identified goals. All students, regardless of their family or social background, experience both improvement across their school career and ultimate success in the achievement of those goals, based on appropriate external and school-based measuring techniques.
>
> (Townsend, 1994:48)

The School Effectiveness Research

Scheerens (1990:64–68) identified four major bodies of research that addressed issues of school effectiveness:

- that which considered how schools affected the equality of educational outcomes;
- that which considered educational production functions which considered which inputs led to the best outcomes;
- that which came to be known as the effective schools research and attempted to establish that schools themselves, in addition to family or social backgrounds, made a difference to the educational achievements of the students passing through them; and
- that which was called the instructional effectiveness research which was characterised by the attention paid to the work of individual teachers or to activities at the classroom level.

Substantial progress has been made from the early 1980s, when the five factor model of school effectiveness (leadership, instructional focus, climate conducive to learning, high expectations and consistent measurement of pupil achievement; Edmonds, 1979) was paramount, to the late 1990s, when it is widely acknowledged that the effectiveness of any school must be considered within the context in which that school operates rather than simply on the various 'ingredients' that help to make up the school's operations. A number of studies have suggested that the level of effectiveness of schools can vary on the basis of the social environment of the school's locality (Hallinger and Murphy, 1986), with the outcomes being measured (Mortimore *et al.*, 1988), the stage of development the school has reached (Stringfield and Teddlie, 1991), the social class mix of the students (Blakey and Heath, 1992) or even the country in which the research is conducted (Scheerens and Creemers, 1989; Wildy and Dimmock, 1992).

However, the literature has indicated a number of factors which seem to stand both the test of time and geography. These have been reported in various ways, but none better than in Scheerens (1992:84) where he indicates a series of characteristics with varying degrees of empirical research support. The characteristics with the highest degree of support are 'structured teaching' and 'effective learning time'. Those with a reasonable level of research support include 'opportunity to learn', 'pressure to achieve', 'high expectations' and 'parental involvement' (with 'physical and material school characteristics' having a marginal effect). However, characteristics such as 'educational leadership', 'assessment ability', 'school climate', 'organisational and structural preconditions' and 'descriptive context characteristics' have doubtful value, based on the empirical evidence, with 'staff recruitment', 'staff development' and 'external stimuli' having only hypothetical value. Creemers (1992) argued that the importance of school level factors was to support the instructional processes that were the key to student outcomes.

Not all of the results listed above would have universal support, with Reynolds indicating that the nature of the leadership within the school (although not only that shown by the principal) is of critical importance since an effective school 'possesses a balance between managerialism and collegiality that is ensured by having elements of both present at the same time' (Reynolds, 1994:9–10). He also argues that organisational control of pupils is important because it generates 'cohesion, constancy and consistency within the school' and that pupil involvement both in the classroom and in other ways also contributes to the level of effectiveness the school enjoys. The fact that two of the key international thinkers in the area differ in their views of what makes a school

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effective demonstrates the current state of flux within the discipline and the need for further research before more definitive statements can be made.

Over the past twenty years, the research has clearly established that schools make a difference, and that pupil achievement is not just a product of socio-economic background, even though this difference may be smaller (around 8–15 percent of variation in pupil outcomes) than was first thought (Cuttance, 1985; Bosker and Scheerens, 1989; Daly, 1991). More recent analysis has confused the issue even further with Bosker and Witzier (1995) conducting a meta-analysis of 75 British and Dutch studies to show a value-added between school variance of only 7 percent, whereas Hill (1995) conducting research that was 'curriculum sensitive', rather than related to general academic performance, found a between-school variance of 16–19 percent.

Many uncertainties remain. It has been shown that total school performance, in terms of its effectiveness, can vary over time (Nuttall, 1992); that schools that are effective are not necessarily effective in all things; some might be effective academically, but not in terms of social outcomes, or vice-versa (Mortimore *et al.*, 1988); nor are they necessarily effective for all students, since different school effects can occur for children from different groups within the same school (Nuttall, 1989).

The Impact of School Effectiveness

The effective schools research seems to have had the underlying purpose of developing practical means for school improvement, but there are some important distinctions and relationships between school effectiveness and school improvement that can be identified. As Smink pointed out:

> School effectiveness is concerned with results. Researchers try to describe certain variables for school success in measurable terms. On the other hand, school improvement places the accent on the process; here one finds a broad description of all the variables that play a role in a school improvement project. Both approaches need the other to successfully modernize the system.
>
> (Smirk, 1991:3)

Murphy argued (1991:166–168) that there are four main factors which can be considered as the legacy of school effectiveness. He suggests the most fundamental of the four is that 'given appropriate conditions, all children can learn'. The second product of the school effectiveness research stems from a rejection of the historical perspective that good schools and bad schools could be identified by the socio-economic status of the area in which they were located. School effectiveness examined student outcomes, not in absolute terms, but in terms of the value added to students' abilities by the school, rather than the outside-of-school factors. He further argued that school effectiveness researchers were the first to reject the philosophy that 'poor academic performance and deviant behaviour have been defined as problems of individual children or their families' (Cuban, 1989, in Murphy, 1991). School effectiveness helped to eliminate the practice of 'blaming the victim for the shortcomings of the school'. Finally, the research showed that 'the better schools are more tightly linked—structurally, symbolically and culturally—than the less effective ones'. There was a greater degree of consistency and co-ordination in terms of the curriculum, the teaching and the organisation within the school.

The school effectiveness research has left two major questions unresolved. The first is the issue of whether or not the concept of effectiveness has a social justice component, namely, whether the focus of effectiveness should be those students who are most at risk (because of learning difficulties, socio-economic background or for some other reason), or whether the focus should be on raising standards for all children equally. The second issue relates to the nature of the outcomes that are to be considered as part of the judgement of the effectiveness of particular schools, who decides what those outcomes should be and what measurement techniques can be used to make those judgements.

From School Effectiveness to School Reform

Reynolds also argued that, overall, the school effectiveness research has had the positive effect of 'helping to destroy the belief that schools can do nothing to change the society around them . . . and . . . the myth that the influence of family background is so strong on children's development that they are unable to be affected by school' (Reynolds, 1994:2). But he also argued that it has had the negative effect of 'creating a widespread, popular view that schools do not just make a difference, but that they make all the difference' (Reynolds, 1994:4). It is perhaps this statement, more than any other, that characterises both the possibilities and the problems of linking effectiveness to the self-managing school.

There have been numerous studies world-wide that have argued a close connection between school-based management and school effectiveness, although it could be argued that they have produced little direct evidence to support such a claim. Campbell (1985:21), in her research on school-based management in Boston schools, concluded that 'school site councils have been effective in bringing more people into the school decision-making process and in providing schools with a vehicle for school wide planning and individual program implementation.'

Guthrie (1986:305) argued that, 'unless policies are identified that unleash productive local initiatives, the reform movement seems likely to lose its momentum'. He went on to present a model of school-based management with the school becoming the 'primary decision-making unit in an educational system' as a potential solution to this conflict. Kirst (1989) argued that the American reform effort, which had a tendency for decision-making to be more centralised, had resulted from a loss of confidence in the local capacity to maintain high academic standards. He cautioned that the reasons for local control over education were still sound and that the health of local schools depended upon their responsiveness to the communities they served. He argued that, although broad standards could be set by state or district authorities, major decisions should be made at the school site. Henderson argued that local decision-making would generate greater accountability:

> In public education as it is now governed, there is no structure at a school that can assure an authoritative discourse on school improvement. The people who must live with the decisions are not the people who make the decisions; if the school community has no power to change the situation, they will not bother to figure out how to improve it.
>
> (Henderson, 1988:7)

Many of the arguments made by the protagonists of devolution imply that if school was influential to an individual student's development, as the research seems to suggest, then:

> the more control a school has over those aspects of its organisation that affect its performance—the articulation of its goals, the selection and management of its personnel, the specification of its policies—the more likely a school is to exhibit the qualities that have been found to promote effectiveness.
>
> (Chubb, 1988:6)

Perhaps this view is best expressed by one of the most influential supporters of self-managing schools, Brian Caldwell (1996a), when he tried to explain the connection between school self-management and school effectiveness.

> . . . when we do look at schools that have improved, or if we do look at schools that are so-called effective schools, we've seen that in all cases, people have taken the initiative to make decisions for themselves, to solve their own problems, to set their own priorities. They've usually been schools that have been able to select their own staff in some way. So the characteristics of improving schools one can find in a system of self-managing schools.

This statement reflects the sort of leap-of-faith view that if the current practices of already successful schools are recreated for all schools, then all schools will become successful. For anyone with first year philosophy, the fallacy of the argument is clear to see. The syllogism used:

if all effective schools are self-managing
and *all schools are self-managing*
then all schools are effective schools

is invalid in the same way that:

if all red apples are round
and *all apples are round*
then all apples are red apples

It is this jump from what some schools are able to do, to what all schools should be able to do, that promotes the idea that this is just another recipe for success. However, in the past I have argued that (Townsend, 1994:56) '[B]ecause there is a complex web of interactions between the various major processes of the school . . .' then a single road to success will not help all schools to get there. Unfortunately, just as Edmonds' (1979) five factor theory was found to be a too-simplistic recipe for success twenty years ago, ten years after the introduction of self-managing schools, the view that giving individual schools responsibility for their own progress has been found wanting as well. I would now like to turn to some specific comments about school self-management to try and support what I have just said.

The Self-Managing School

The international trend towards Revolution of many of the decisions and responsibilities for managing schools to the school itself, with the end point being self-managing, or self-governing public schools, has been perhaps the most powerful influence changing our understanding of education over the past two decades. Early instances of self-management appeared in the 1970s in Dade County in Florida and the Edmonton School District in Canada where many of the features of self-managing schools seen today were pioneered. More recent examples include Grant Maintained (GM) and Locally Managed (LM) Schools in the United Kingdom, the charter school movement in the United States, self-managing schools in Australia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, South Africa, and of course, *Schools of Tomorrow* in New Zealand.

One only has to look at the changes occurring in Australian states such as Western Australia (*Better Schools,* 1987), New South Wales (*Schools Renewal,* 1989), Victoria (*Schools of the Future,* 1993), Tasmania (*Directions for Education,* 1996) and Queensland (*Leading Schools,* 1997) to see the breadth of these moves. The interesting part about all of these names is their suggestion of moving forward, of getting better, of meeting the future head on.

In Australia some observers have considered that this activity has been used as a means to gain improved student outcomes (an issue of quality), while others have considered that it has been used as a way of winding back the money spent on education (an issue of finance). The fact that the implementation of self-managing schools in a number of different countries has been accompanied by a slashing of the educational budget in each instance has done little to clarify this issue.

The government rationale for these moves to the self-managing school is, almost invariably, that it will improve the quality of education for children. This is typified by the Victorian *Schools of the Future*, the rationale for which is a 'commitment to the view that quality outcomes of schooling can only be assured when decision-making takes place at the local level' (Directorate of School Education, 1993: 1). On the other hand, Smyth (1993:8) suggested that the underlying issue *was* cutting back the cost of public education:

> One of the noticeable (indeed, even remarkable, or is it?) features of the move towards the self-managing school phenomenon around the world, is its occurrence in contexts of unprecedented education budget cut-backs. Whenever there is a break out of self-managing schools, the notion is used as a weapon by which to achieve the alleged 'efficiencies' and 'downsizing' of education.

Are the arguments that we can increase the quality of education for all students at the same time as we reduce education budgets the miracle we have been seeking, or a myth leading us to a false sense of security? It could be argued that 'the effects of the recession and the financial crisis' identified by Brian Caldwell has been used as a smoke screen by politicians to divert funds from public education and, in Australia at least, this diversion has been accompanied by increasing funds heading towards non-government schools, to the extent that for every dollar spent on a student in a government school, in excess of seventy cents is spent on a student in a non-government school. This move has been led by the notion that schools, like most other public services in the 1990s, should become privatised, or at least, 'user-pays'. As we have seen in the earlier sections, this has

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come at a time when the majority of parents with children in government schools are struggling to make ends meet. If this is the case, it is tantamount to an abdication, on the part of governments, from their responsibility to provide a quality education for all their citizens.

In some of my earlier works (Townsend, 1996a; 1996b), I asked the question, what might we expect from movement towards the self-managing school as a the basis for education reform? I suggested that there might be six things that we could expect:

- improved student outcomes;
- improved decision-making;
- improved management and leadership;
- improved quality of teaching;
- a curriculum that responds to both state, and local, needs; and
- a more efficient use of resources.

My analysis of each of these factors in 1996 led me to believe that many of these things had either not improved at all, or had even deteriorated over time. I argued that perhaps, in the Victorian case, there had not been enough time to make a full judgement of the value of the changes, but that, at that point in time, perhaps the true rationale for the change had not been identified.

What I would now like to do, is to provide an update on what is happening, and where I stand now. To do this I wish to focus quite specifically on two issues: the first, student achievement and the second, resources. In my view, although that is not shared by some economists, and many governments, these two factors are inextricably linked, and I think I might be able to prove it.

The Self-Managing School and Student Achievement

Perhaps the most critical issue in the implementation of self-managing schools is the issue of student achievement. We have to ask ourselves the question, 'If self-managing schools do not improve student achievement, then why are we implementing them?' Yet, it needs to be said that there is no evidence, anywhere in the world that indicates that self-managing schools necessarily lead to improved student outcomes, and evidence is starting to emerge that there is a rapid increase in the variation in student achievement between the best and worst achieving students, and that this variation is, in some way, linked to the level of decentralisation occurring within the school system (McBeath, *In press*).

Perhaps the most useful and recent work that considers the impact of self-managing schools on student learning comes from Brian Caldwell (1998). After a thorough survey of self-management internationally, Caldwell concludes (1998:38):

> There is no doubt that, while factors underpinning the movement to self-managing schools are many and varied, there has always been an expectation that they will make a contribution to improved outcomes for students. There is also no doubt that evidence of a direct cause-and-effect relationship between self-management and improved outcomes is minimal.

Even the early attempts to encourage school self-management—Edmonton, Canada and Dade County, Florida—have only been able to report increases in the levels of satisfaction by parents, teachers, students and school personnel (Brown, 1990:247) and the professional status of teachers (Collins and Hanson, 1991:4). There is no evidence that self-management, in itself, caused improved student achievement in either location. Malen, Ogawa and Kranz (1990) undertook a meta-analysis of educational reform in the 1980s and found little or no impact on student achievement. More recently, Elmore (1993:44) argued:

> [T]here is little or no evidence that [site-based management] has any direct or predictable relationship to changes in instruction and students' learning. In fact, the evidence suggests that the implementation of site-based management reforms has a more or less random relationship to changes in curriculum, teaching, and students' learning.

A more recent meta-analysis of 70 studies (Summers and Johnson (1996:80) found that 'there is little evidence to support the notion that SBM is effective in increasing student performance. There are very few quantitative studies, the studies are not statistically rigorous, and the evidence of positive results is either weak or non-existent'.

Other studies (Olson, 1997; Lawton, 1997; Bryk, 1998) have focused on work being done in Chicago. However the results here are somewhat ambiguous. Bryk reported on a number of schools that were given self-management status as a means of overcoming their poor performance. At a symposium at the 1998 AERA, Bryk indicated an innovative way of measuring the value added by schools. A number of schools had improved their performance, but others had fallen further behind. As Olson suggested (1997:30) 'decentralisation creates the conditions that allow schools to improve one at a time.' Codding (1997:15) has also argued:

> . . . almost none of the widely advocated reforms—modular scheduling, open space, individualised instruction, different school governance experiments, vouchers, charter schools, the various curriculum reform initiatives—have survived or changed student performance.

Perhaps the most useful research emerging from the US is that being undertaken by Phillips (1997) in Philadelphia, where the structural reorganisation of schools into clusters and the use of rewards, assistance and consequences at the school level seem to have led to significant improvement in reading, mathematics and science test scores, and Newmann and Wehlage (1995:3) who, after examining schools across the United States, described the structures for improvement as follows:

> The most successful schools were those that used restructuring tools to help them function as professional communities. That is, they found a way to channel staff and student efforts toward a clear, commonly shared purpose for student learning, they created opportunities for teachers to collaborate and help one another achieve the purpose; and teachers in these schools took collective—not just individual—responsibility for student learning. Schools with strong professional communities were better able to offer authentic pedagogy and were more effective in promoting student achievement.

In Britain, Bullock and Thomas, in their study of school self-management, (1994, pp. 134–135) report an increasing number of principals believe there are benefits from local management for student learning. Primary principals increased their support for the statement that 'Children's learning is benefiting from LM [local management]' from 30 percent in 1991 to 47 percent in 1993 and secondary principals increased their support from 34 percent in 1991 to 50 percent in 1993. Principals of larger schools however, were more positive than those of smaller schools, and secondary principals were more positive than primary principals. But it needs to be pointed out that these positive responses still represent only a minority of views. Fewer than a third of principals from primary and smaller secondary schools and half from larger secondary schools agreed with the statement 'as a direct result of LM, standards of education have improved in my school' (Bullock and Thomas, 1994:137).

Bullock and Thomas (1994) also found that just over one third of head teachers agreed with the statement 'as a result of LM [Local Management], more meetings are taken up with administrative issues which lessen our attention on pupil's learning'. They refer to the concern expressed by some head teachers 'about an apparent shift in emphasis away from matters explicitly "educational", towards a situation where decisions are based more on financial considerations' (Bullock and Thomas, 1994:143). The level of resources available to the school also became an issue: 'Put simply, LM may have brought benefits to learning in schools where the financial situation is healthy. [But a] reduced budget could result in unwelcome consequences for children' (Bullock and Thomas, 1994:137).

In an update of their research (1997:217–219), Bullock and Thomas conclude:

> It may be that the most convincing evidence of the impact of local management is on the opportunities which it has provided for managing the environment and resources for learning, both factors that can act to support the quality of learning in schools. What remains elusive, however, is clear-cut evidence of these leading though to direct benefits on learning, an essential component if we are to conclude that it is contributing to higher levels of efficiency . . .
>
> . . . If learning is at the heart of education, it must be central to our final discussion of decentralisation . . .
>
> . . . we must begin by recognising that structural changes in governance, management and finance may leave largely untouched the daily interaction of pupils and teachers.

Other critics of self-management, such as Whitty (1994), suggest that the local management changes in the United Kingdom have not altered children's learning in the positive way that might have been expected. Thirty-four percent of head teachers in a study conducted by Arnott *et al.* (1992) thought there had been an improvement in children's learning, 31 percent a regression and 35 percent were unsure, results that largely support those of Bullock and Thomas (1994). Arnott *et al.*, concede that, although the study is broadly positive, 'direct evidence of the influence of self-management on learning is elusive' (from Whitty, 1994:5).

The Victorian Cooperative Research Project conducted jointly by the Department of Education, the Primary and Secondary Principals' Associations and the University of Melbourne, in seven separate surveys over five years, asked principals to indicate their opinions about a range of outcomes of the implementation of *Schools of the Future,* including their levels of confidence about the outcomes, the expected benefits that have been realised and the problems associated with the implementation. The 1997 survey (Co-operative Research Project, 1998) indicates that principals were moderately confident that their schools would attain the objective of schools developing their programs to meet the individual needs of their students (mean = 3.2, where 5.0 was the highest level of confidence). They were also moderately confident of improved learning outcomes for students (3.4). However, it needs to be pointed out that for both questions, the 1997 response was lower than any of the previous responses; that is, principals were less confident in 1997 of achieving improved student learning than for any previous survey.

Simultaneous with this drop in confidence about achieving student outcomes, there has also been a drop in confidence for questions such as '*Schools of the Future* will recognise teachers as true professionals . . .' from a high mean of 3.3 (taken in 1994) to a 1997 mean of 2.5, and '*Schools of the Future* will allow principals to be true leaders in their school' from a high of 4.1 (taken in 1993) to a 1997 mean of 3.1. However, principals also identified problems occurring with the implementation of the programme. The major issues identified included workload (for principals, teachers, administrative staff and teachers in key responsibility areas)—all scored means of 4.6—with 5.0 being the highest magnitude that could be expressed for the problem. Other problems that scored highly included 'time available for effective implementation'—4.3; 'staff numbers'—4.0; 'maintaining the quality of education during a time of rapid transition'—3.9; 'expectation of further changes in programmes and priorities for schools'—3.9 and 'ensuring that the school receives an equitable allocation of resources in its global budget'—3.9.

To provide an overall summary of the success or otherwise of the programme in the principals' eyes, only 3 of the 9 expressed objectives of *Schools of the Future* and 10 of the 25 expected benefits of the programme, but 23 of the 30 expressed problems, were scored either 4 or 5 (highest rates of agreement) by more than fifty percent of the principals. This suggests that *Schools of the Future* has only delivered on a few of its promises, but has created a number of problems for schools in doing so.

Caldwell (1996b:11) argued that the Cooperative Research Project found that '82 percent of principals have provided a rating of 3 or more on the 5-point scale' for their expectation that the *Schools of the Future* programme would improve student learning outcomes. However, Smith (1996) argues that such reporting of the findings of the project gives an unrealistically optimistic view of the data, first because the mean score was only 3.2 out of 5, and second, since 46 percent of the principals gave a rating of 3, it is equally true that 64 percent rated the question 3 or less. At best it is like arguing that the glass is half full rather than being half empty.

My own work (Townsend, 1996a) found that others in the school; parents, teachers, school councillors were happy with a number of the changes brought by *Schools of the Future,* including the opportunity to be involved in developing a school charter and the closer working relationship between teachers and parents, but were concerned at the impact of lower levels of resources and the move towards a more market oriented view of the school.

Of course you, in New Zealand, are not short of evidence of your own. From the early pioneering studies of Ramsay and his colleagues (1983), where they found that the influence of the school one attended, and family and social background were significant determinants when it came to student outcomes, to the more recent work of, among others, Lauder and Hughes (1990) and later

Lauder and colleagues, (1995); Nash and colleagues (1990, 1991); Thrupp (1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b) and Wylie (1997a, b, c, d) New Zealand researchers have made a substantial contribution to our knowledge about the impact of the reform movement on student achievement. Ramsay (forthcoming) provides an excellent overview of this work and I wish to draw on some of the things he said here.

Lauder and Hughes (1990) showed that pupils of equal low ability typically leave the most privileged schools with five School Certificate passes while those from the least privileged schools leave without any qualifications at all, which led to the question: 'Does the social class mix of a school have an impact on the subsequent destinations of its students over and above that predicted by examination success?' They found that for low school achievers the kind of school attended made relatively little difference to subsequent performance. However, they also found that high achieving pupils from high socio-economic status schools had a considerable advantage over high achieving students from low socio-economic status schools.

The Access and Opportunity in Education Project (Nash *et al.*, 1990, 1991) was designed to obtain quantifiable information 'about the fundamental and effective resources of class-located families' (Nash, Harker and Charters, 1990:ii). They concluded 'that class position provides family with resources which enable them to make differential use of formally equal educational provision [and that] is actually the fundamental cause of social differences in educational access and opportunity.' A second study, *Progress at Schools* (Harker and Nash, 1996) focused on school effectiveness as it related to academic outcomes, testing the questions: 'Given average background characteristics, how well would a student perform in any particular school?' and 'Given similar student populations, are some schools more effective in achieving specified results than others?' (Harker and Nash, 1996;146). The researchers found that the achievement differences between the various groups of students in the schools were much the same in all schools: 'that Maori, Pacific Island and working class students are equally disadvantaged at all schools' (Harker and Nash, 1996:153). They emphasised (as had Lauder and Hughes (1990) and Thrupp (1996, 1997), the possibility of school mix affecting the performance of all students within the school. Harker and Nash then went on to investigate 'the impact schools are having on their pupils after taking into account the different pupil populations that each school has' (Harker and Nash 1996:162). They found that differences in the school population was the greatest factor in determining the academic outcomes of schools.

Thrupp (1996, 1997) identified a group of working class students, whom he termed 'ordinary kids' and used multiple data sources to gain a view of the processes to which these ordinary kids were being exposed. He provided considerable evidence to suggest a relationship between school mix and the aspirations and achievement of the ordinary kids. There may be a rubbing off effect of mixing with higher socio-economic status students, which seemed to be of benefit to some of the ordinary kids in his sample. Thrupp concluded (1996:386) that his study provided a detailed picture of 'how middle class families wittingly or unwittingly gain advantage in education by educating their children in segregated, and therefore inherently unequal schools. In doing so [the study] provides further evidence for the market as a class strategy.'

Wylie's work has shown (1997a:v–vi) that the reform activity in New Zealand, like most other places, has resulted in concerns about increased workloads, lack of staffing, decreased government resources coupled with an increased responsibility for parents to raise funds locally. Sixty-two percent of principals, but only 39 percent of teachers, felt that the changes have impacted positively on the quality of student learning. She concluded (Wylie 1997a:178) 'many principals and teachers do see positive gains for children. The reforms have been less successful in improving educational opportunities for children from disadvantaged groups . . . resource gaps remain evident, particularly for schools serving low income and/or Maori children.'

The Maori population, it could be argued, is the one worst served by education in New Zealand. According to *New Zealand Schools* (Ministry of Education, 1997), Maori consisted of 20 percent of the school population, yet made up 44 percent of all suspensions, double the rate of Pacific Island students, and triple the rate of European students (p. 38); they were less likely to stay at school, (p. 65) with only 39 percent staying at school until age 17 compared with 60 percent generally, were twice as likely (38 percent compared with 18 percent generally) to leave school with no qualification, (p. 79) and were less likely (7.4 percent to 21.8 percent generally) to go on to university from school (p. 80).

Internationally, New Zealand has moved from being a nation with one of the best literacy rates to one that has the greatest gap between its advantaged and disadvantaged students in a very short time.

> Reading has been a source of national pride since 1970, when New Zealand students finished first in an international test . . . The 1991 survey by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement found that many children—especially Maoris and other minorities did poorly. New Zealand had the largest gap between majority and minority children of any participating country.
>
> (Colvin, 1997:11)

One of the features of school reform on an international basis, is that when a reform measure is introduced (almost regardless of the reform) not all schools are improved. If we focus our attention and resources on some schools, they will improve, but if we try to improve all schools at once, only some will succeed, as Hill and Crevola (1997:2) point out:

> Improving the quality of teaching and learning in schools is not an easy matter. There have been many attempts to raise standards by one means or another, but reformers have invariably found that it is difficult to improve learning in a sustained way across more than a handful of schools at any one time.

Such a finding suggests, as does that by MacBeath (*In press*), that for every school that improves under a particular reform measure, it is likely that there will be others that fail to improve, or worse, go backwards. Certainly the evidence emerging from the Chicago research (Bryk, 1998) indicates that this is so.

The implication of the international research is that the argument that school self-management improves student outcomes relies at best upon opinions rather than hard evidence of causality, and that even opinions are split between the positive and the negative. On this evidence, the case for the positive effect of self-management on learning quality is nowhere near proven.

The Self-Managing School and the Funding of Public Education

A second aspect of most of the moves to self-managing schools over the past decade has been the simultaneous introduction of the reform and financial cutbacks. The argument has been made that there are substantial savings to be made if the central bureaucracy is dismantled and its activities undertaken at the school level. This has been translated by government as meaning that students will perform better if school communities have control over their destiny.

A number of issues emerge. First, most of the savings made by dismantling the bureaucracy were not passed on to schools, but removed from the system altogether (some would argue to pay for some of Martin and Schumann's 'tittytainment' activities, such as supporting sporting events —a Grand Prix—or other 'entertainments' such as public funding support for casinos). Thus schools had to pick up the additional workload, without being able to access the resources previously spent to undertake the work.

Second, it could be argued that having an activity that was previously undertaken centrally (such as keeping track of sick leave, long service leave and so on), now being done by each school singly was not a very cost effective thing to do. Whereas previously five or ten people centrally might have had all their time to devote to the one activity, now more than 2500 people (one for each school) would have to at least spend part of their time on it. If this factor is multiplied across all the services required by a school, there will be people involved in many small tasks, without being expert in any. One might suggest that there are some aspects of school activity that might be better done centrally, even in a self-managing system.

Third, and perhaps most important, it might be suggested that the underlying purpose of the move (to give school communities control over their destiny) might be further away now than it ever was. Certainly governments have taken an iron grip on curriculum and assessment, which can be considered as the driving force of a school's work, to such an extent that it led one Victorian school principal to claim that he was now working in the 'Most central controlled system experienced in twenty-nine years with the DSE' (Co-operative Research Project, 1996:44).

These three issues together lead to an alternative claim that the underlying purpose of establishing a self-managing system was to cut back on public expenditure in education or, perhaps, even to privatise the public education system. Such a claim is given support by a recent statement by the former Victorian Minister of Education who had overseen the implementation of *Schools of the Future* (Caldwell and Hayward, 1988:33).

> We already had models of highly successful schools in the non-government or independent schools, which were attended by more than 30 percent of Victoria's school students. What we needed to do was make all our schools 'independent'. We needed to dismantle 'the system'.

Apart from the clear implication that all students who attend a non-government school attend a highly successful school, but that none of the students attending government schools do (he could have equally well said 'we had models of highly successful schools in the government schools, which were attended by around 70 percent of our students'), this statement gives a clear indication of what the government priorities were: to get rid of the 'system' of education and to make every school an 'independent' school. I would now like to spend a little time looking at the issue of the resourcing of public education.

The Purpose of Resource Allocation

It is important to understand that resource allocation has two central concerns, namely, efficiency and equity. In the first instance, it is critical that we have an efficient use of resources so that we get the best value for the money being allocated to education, particularly when there are so many others in the community demanding services that require government funding. In the second instance, it is important that the money be used in such a way as to give every student an equal chance of succeeding.

However, sometimes the notions of efficiency and equity can be in conflict with each other. Some would argue that the most efficient use of resources occurs when those most capable are allocated higher proportions of resources to ensure that they achieve their full potential. However, this would usually mean that those that are already the most advantaged in our society get additional resources to the detriment of those who have had various economic or social disadvantages to overcome. Others would argue that an equitable allocation of funds means that those most disadvantaged should receive higher levels of funding to try and bring them up to the levels of those with family or social advantages.

Peter Mortimore (1996:18), in his concluding remarks at the *Schools of the Third Millennium* conference in Melbourne, made these cautionary statements:

> Some of the lessons, [from school effectiveness and improvement research] however, are less obvious and turn on the overall educational goals of societies and on whether policy makers wish to give priority to the education of a small elite or to the majority, which will include the disadvantaged. If the priority is to sustain an elite, then it needs to be recognised that only in exceptional cases will disadvantaged students—sponsored by particularly effective schools—win through . . . However, if the aim is to improve the lot of the majority and to lift overall standards in that quantum leap, then ways need to be sought in which highly effective compensating mechanisms can be created.
>
> . . . A policy of lifting overall standards, however, means ensuring that educational spending is fairly distributed and, in some cases, directed towards those schools which serve the most disadvantaged students instead of the seemingly inevitable situation whereby the most resources tend to end up at the call of the most advantaged.

It could be argued that in a devolved system, such as those being developed in Australia and New Zealand, the education authority and the school have responsibilities for both efficiency and equity, but that these will operate differently at each level. Perhaps the major concern at the authority level is to ensure equity across the system (which may mean differential distribution of funds to schools with different circumstances) and to monitor the efficiency of the resource allocation at the school (to check that the money has been spent in accordance with its charter or goals). On the other hand, perhaps the major concern at the school level is to ensure efficiency of resource allocation (so that appropriate funds go to the various curriculum and administrative programmes) and to monitor equity within the school (by making sure that all students experience success in these programmes).

The Production Function Research

Perhaps the research most cited by governments seeking to downsize education budgets is that concerned with the education production function model. Although there had been universal agreement on the need for improvement in student outcomes, there is far less agreement on how this would be achieved. The production function studies attempted to derive a model for the relationship between educational inputs and outcomes. School input characteristics such as teacher salary and qualifications, facilities, teacher-pupil ratio and per pupil expenditure, and pupil characteristics such as socioeconomic status and ability, were compared with outcome measures such as achievement on standardised tests, patterns of educational futures and adult employment earnings.

Perhaps the most influential studies were those conducted by Eric Hanushek (1981, 1986, 1989, 1991). Some educators had argued that, to improve the outcomes of students, more money was required by the school system. Hanushek's studies led to him concluding that there was little consistent relationship between educational expenditure and pupil achievement (Hanushek, 1986:1161). His argument is summed up by the statement 'Enormous increases in the resources devoted to US schools have not yielded improvements in student performance' (Hanushek, 1995:60). This set of studies has allowed many governments to argue the case that they could increase the quality of student outcomes and decrease the expenditure on education simultaneously.

Yet Hanushek's work has not been received with universal acclaim. Critics have attacked not only the methodology used to analyse the data, and the logic of his conclusions, but also the philosophy underpinning his argument. Molnar (1995:58) makes the point:

> Undeterred by their inability over the last decade to predict whether the stock market will go up or come down—a subject germain to their discipline—market economists have increasingly taken up the issue of school reform (for example, Hanushek *et al.*, 1994; Moe and Chubb, 1990). Armed with their crude models of human behaviour, a childlike faith in economic 'laws' and a narrow ideology that bends and shapes all relationships into a form that suits their econo-centric logic, these economists now presume to tell us whether or not money matters in the education of our young.

A re-analysis of Hanushek's data (Hedges, Laine and Greenwald, 1994) suggested that the conclusions drawn by Hanushek were not as watertight as first thought. Hedges *et al.*, used more sophisticated analysis mechanisms on Hanushek's data and concluded that there was 'strong support for at least some positive effects of resource inputs and little support for the existence of negative effects . . . the pattern of effects is most persuasive for global resource variables (PPE and teacher experience) the median effects are positive for most resource variables, with the clear exception of teacher education' (Hedges *et al.*, 1994:13).

In more recent exchanges through the journal *Educational Leadership,* Hanushek (1995:60) argues that 'Economists view schooling as an investment. The time and money spent on an individual's education are rewarded by better jobs, higher earnings, improved health, enhanced parenting skills, and so forth' yet wishes to align the funding of education to student performance. He argues the case for merit pay, for charter schools and magnet schools, without recognising the inherent contradiction in his argument, that things like improved health, enhanced parenting skills and even higher earnings and better jobs, are not necessarily linked with performance on a narrow range of academic tests, which are invariably the government means of identifying achievement. How many industrialists worked their way up from the shop floor, how many movie stars or sports stars left school early, how many excellent parents failed to achieve on standardised tests? Perhaps it is something other than that which is normally measured that makes people successful, no matter what their chosen field will be.

As well as concerns with Hanushek's findings, there is other evidence to suggest that the level of expenditure on education does have an effect on the numbers of students that remain in the system, how well they do, and their aspirations for the future, but that some economists use the statistics to 'prove' that it doesn't. The report *Debunking Myths About Public Schools* (Association of Californian School Administrators, 1996) argued that there 'is a direct cause and effect relationship between student achievement and the amount of money states spend per pupil.' It argued that in lower spending states, few pupils see further education beyond school as an option, whereas higher spending states encourage more students to undertake the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which determines who will go onto the most prestigious colleges. As Bracey (1995:68) points out, those who wish to use the statistics in another way focus on mean SAT scores. The high spending states do not have better mean scores than the lower spending states, so the argument that increased funding levels do not equate with increased achievement levels is used. Yet, if one state has less than ten percent of its students sitting the test (that is, the top ten percent) and the other state has most (up to ninety percent) of its students sitting the test, it would be expected that the state with the smaller number of people sitting would perform better, purely from a statistical point of view.

If we combine this perspective with additional information that is emerging from the Goals 2000 research, we can start to see a pattern that suggests that the level of resourcing is not as irrelevant as some politicians and economists might have us believe. Tables 8 and 9 provide a comparison between the student outcomes in reading and mathematics at grade four level, and the percentage of students undertaking the SAT tests (and their average score) for the states spending highest and lowest amounts of money per pupil.

Table 8

Per Pupil Expenditure and Student Outcomes: Highest Spending US States

State	Per Pupil School Expenditure 1994–95 $	Public School Grade 4 Students 'Proficient' or 'Advanced' in Reading %	Public School Grade 4 Students 'Proficient' or 'Advanced' in Mathematics %	HS Seniors Taking 1995 SAT Tests %	Average SAT Score for State
New Jersey	9889	29	25	47	898
Connecticut	8604	33	25	81	908
Rhode Island	7348	27	14	70	888
Massachusetts	6940	31	24	80	907
Maryland	6720	22	19	64	909

Table 9

Per Pupil Expenditure and Student Outcomes: Lowest Spending US States

State	Per Pupil School Expenditure 1994–95 $	Public School Grade 4 Students 'Proficient' or 'Advanced' in Reading %	Public School Grade 4 Students 'Proficient' or 'Advanced' in Mathematics %	HS Seniors Taking 1995 SAT Tests %	Average SAT Score for State
North Dakota	4636	32	23	9	1107
Alabama	4458	17	10	8	1039
Arkansas	4106	20	10	6	1005
Oklahoma	4323	25	14	9	1027
Mississippi	3697	15	7	4	1038
Utah	3626	25	20	4	1027

The tables indicate that although there is not a clear trend related to student funding and proficiency in basic skills, or even between the levels of funding and SAT scores, there does appear to be a clear trend between student funding and their expectations. Certainly substantially more students in the higher spending states see themselves as going on to a quality tertiary education (as shown by the proportion of them sitting the SAT test). Again the issue is raised as to whether school effectiveness has a social justice component or not. If education is provided in such a way as to encourage most of the students undertaking it to aspire to higher education, then the higher spending US states would seem to be more effective.

If recent figures about one's level of education and the possibilities for employment are considered, as shown in Table 10 (Australian Social Trends, 1998), then keeping students in education becomes critical.

Table 10

Comparison of Education Level and Unemployment Rate

Level of Education Degree	Rate of Unemployment
Degree	3.4
Associate diploma	4.7
Skill Vocational	6.1
Basic Vocational	8.6
No post-school	11.2

Some argue that there is a connection between funding and achievement, but that it is too expensive to contemplate. However, there is now enough demographic research to indicate that the dollars spent on education in the early years will save multiple dollars later in a person's life. Hodgkinson (1990:27) argued that in the United States, 'we spend in general fifteen percent of our money on prevention programs and eighty-five percent on rather ineffectual 'cures' in all social service areas.' He argued that there was a link between a person's educational background and their later situation with regard to health, family stability, crime, transport and housing. Extra dollars spent on education could save between six and eight dollars in government services provided later in life.

He argued:

> It is cheaper, easier and more effective to:
>
> - Keep people from falling into poverty in the first place rather than to get them out later.
> - Keep all kinds of families intact rather than arrange adoption and foster care facilities later.
> - Keep students performing at grade level by 'front loading' resources toward those most at risk rather than telling them at the end of third grade that they failed when no effort was made to provide the resources that could have meant success.
> - Keep people out of prisons rather than trying to rehabilitate them later.
> - Keep low income people in an expanding supply of affordable housing rather than increasing the number of homeless families, often with children and one or more full-time workers.
> - Keep mass transit so that low income workers can continue to have jobs, housing and some freedom.
> - Keep kids from getting sick (or hungry) rather than providing massive programs for curing (or feeding) them after the damage has been done.
>
> (Hodgkinson, 1990:27)

If we are to diagnose and intervene in children's problems and concerns, then there is a need for appropriately trained professionals at the school level, both to identify the problem and to be able to take the time necessary to alleviate the problem without taking the child away from school. This might take increased spending on education, but provides a benefit to society later on.

McGaw (1994) argued that many of the recent restructuring activities, accompanied by simultaneous cutbacks in education, indicate a lack of faith in the impact of resources, as expressed by Hanushek. He suggested that the current policies of resource reductions 'are based, not on the evidence that there will be no negative effects, but on lack of evidence to the contrary' (McGaw, 1994:10). Later McGaw (1997:6–7) went further:

> . . . What the critics who first claimed that standards were falling now demand, in the face of evidence that they have not fallen, is that standards should be rising as a consequence of increased funding and in response to increasing social and economic demands on education.
>
> The absence of any substantial evidence of improvement is soon enough interpreted as the presence of evidence of no improvement. The onus of proof is placed firmly on the education providers by the critics. Clare and Johnston (1993), for example, claim that there is a serious problem with literacy levels in schools. They do not so much seek to prove that there is a problem as to establish that no one has proved that there is not one. They support what now appears to be the conventional, public wisdom, that there were no benefits of this period of increased expenditure, a view reinforced by a long-established tendency of each generation to conclude that the next is doing less well in schooling, and in most other ways, than it and its predecessors did . . .
>
> From the claim that the increased resources of the 1970s and 1980s produced no benefits, the conclusion is then reached that resource levels could now be reduced without detriment.

Yet it could be equally well argued that the substantial changes in our society, such as family breakdowns, changes in family finances, changing patterns of employment and increased availability of entertainment (TV, computer games) that are considered by some to be anti-educational; together with the impact of changes in education provision, including integrating children with special needs into regular classrooms, changed school management patterns and changed funding arrangements, could well have led to severely decreased performance by students. To have maintained tests results in the face of all this change, might be considered a miracle.

Funding Schools

If the economic rationalists would have their way, they would have us believe that money makes no difference to the level of achievement. Bracey (1995:67) takes this argument to its logical extent:

> [Imagine] funding at zero dollars. Surely achievement would plummet. On the other hand, if we spent $35,000 per pupil—the average teacher's salary today—we could hire a tutor for each child. In this case achievement would soar as tutoring has been found to increase achievement by two standard deviations over usual classroom instruction.

There is now evidence that drops in government funding have been accompanied by a rapidly increasing need for schools to raise funds themselves. Parents are taking more and more responsibility for funding the education of their children, despite the continuing rhetoric that government education is free. A study of 640 low-income families conducted by the Smith Family in four Australian states, Queensland, South Australia, New South Wales and Victoria (Griffith, 1997:38) found that secondary school parents paid in excess of $3000 per year to meet annual education expenses, including uniforms, excursions, fees, and the like.

Victoria is a useful case study to look at the impact of funding on education, as it is possibly the state in Australia that has adopted the marketisation/privatisation perspective to its greatest extent. It has also been the state that has overseen the greatest changes in management structures and is also the Australian state to suffer most from funding reductions to public education over the past few years. Whereas, on average across Australia, government expenditure on schools increased by around 9.4 percent from 1992–1993 to 1995–1996, schools in Victoria suffered a decline of about 5.2 percent. This trend suggests that the Victorian government accepted the Hanushek premise that student outcomes could be improved simultaneously with a drop in funding.

Table 11

School Funding as a Proportion of State Expenditure

	1984 %	1994 %	Change %
Primary and secondary school students as a percentage of total Victorian population	19.9	17.3	–13.1
School expenditure as a percentage of total state expenditure	20.5	16.1	–20.0

Table 11 indicates that the proportion of state funds expended on school education has dropped substantially more than the comparatively fewer students in schools might have predicted. Whereas student numbers dropped by 13.1 percent as a proportion of the Victorian population between 1984 and 1994, the expenditure on education dropped by 20 percent, over 50 percent more than what the numbers might have suggested.

I have been involved over the past couple of years in a running battle with the Victorian government which has led to me being blacklisted by some in the Department of Education. I am not allowed to conduct school reviews (which is one of the areas that has been contracted out by the Department) and I have been waiting for permission to conduct some research on student outcomes for more than sixteen months.

The major issue of contention is some research that I have been involved with that has sought to establish the levels of locally-raised funds. In the first study (*see* Townsend, 1996) we looked at the 1995 income and expenditure statements from 237 schools. We considered the non-salary components of the schools' budgets. We found that there were substantial discrepancies in what schools raised. In 1995 we found that schools were raising locally, on average $387 per pupil. A second study, still being analysed, was conducted on the same group of schools for their 1996 statements. Using exactly the same criteria, schools were now raising $430 per student, a rise of around 11 percent when inflation was more or less zero.

Townsend (1996) indicated that the raising of funds varied dramatically from school to school. Data indicated that the school most capable of raising funds locally predicted that it was able to raise more than $2613 per student compared to $46 per student for the one least capable. Specific examples provided evidence of how the reliance on locally-raised funds in public schools creates inequalities for children. In two small rural schools in different regions (97 and 93 students), one indicated that it could raise an average $316 per pupil per year locally, and the second only $43. Since staffing allocations and other factors would provide approximately the same grant from the government, one school would have an additional $26,000 to spend on school projects. Similarly, in two larger suburban schools (564 and 588 students), one indicated that it could raise an average of $359 per pupil per year and the second $33. Again, if other factors were roughly equal, one school had $180,000 more to allocate per year than the other. The ability to purchase extra computers, library books, and the like, varied greatly from one school to the other.

The evidence suggests that the restructuring activity has allowed some schools to increase their capabilities when it comes to raising funds, but for others the struggle is becoming more and more difficult. It has always been the case that levels of local fundraising in government schools will differ because of the socio-economic area in which the school is located, but now that there are diminishing government funds, the reliance on locally-raised funds to provide a quality programme is much greater.

The government chooses to dispute my figures. The discrepancy comes about because they choose not to count parental funds used to support camps and excursions (even though they agree that these activities are valuable and legitimate). Instead they only count the profit made by a school from these activities as being locally-raised funds, despite many schools making a loss on the line item because they have supported the attendance of poorer students. This seems to me akin to me saying that science (for example) is a legitimate activity for a school, but we can only count the balance of any grants over expenditure for that subject as being legitimate government funding.

The second major area of discrepancy is that if a school-determined activity is funded by the government, this counts as government funding, but if a school-determined activity is funded by locally-raised funds, it is not counted as locally-raised funding.

This pettiness about what can and can't be counted as locally-raised funds, comes at a time when governments are increasing their funding substantially to non-government schools (between 1974 and 1994, government funding to government schools increased by 49 percent and government funding of non-government schools increased by 171 percent). We also have the Federal government allowing small low-fee paying non-government schools to open up in direct competition with government schools. We have the situation in Victoria where some government schools of less than 175 (primary) or 400 (secondary) have been closed because they cannot offer a broad enough curriculum, the buildings have been sold off, and new non-government schools with enrolments as low as 20 (primary) or 80 (secondary) have opened using the same buildings.

The balance of evidence suggests that the vast majority of Victorian schools are struggling to raise sufficient funds to compensate for the decrease in government funding, thus creating increased pressures on principals and school councils to ensure that families pay fees, even if they are struggling to make ends meet. Expressed concerns about the level of resource allocation, identified by principals, teachers, parents and school councillors alike, have been met by the Department with what might be considered as stony silence. The response to concerns about the level of resources by the Cooperative Research Project, in both 1996 and 1997 has been dismissed as '. . . the arguably unrealistic expectation that there would be more resources' (Department of School Education, 1996:8; 1997:8).

Perhaps we can make some comparisons between what is happening in Australia, and most particularly in Victoria, with the trend emerging in New Zealand. We see increasing expenses for New Zealand parents as government moves the cost of education from public funds to individual families: 'Elementary school parents' estimates given in the NZCER surveys of their spending on their children's education show dramatic increases: from an average of $187 in 1991, $304 in 1993 to $491 in 1996 . . . Government funding has not kept pace with rising costs'(Wylie, 1997b:3). But these average figures too, are somewhat misleading. Watson *et al.* (1997:106) indicate:

> We know of one Decile 1 school which raised just $300 in private funding in total in the last financial year, in contrast to a Decile 10 school which charges the same amount in school fees for every student, and which raises thousands more in fundraising. The equity funding provided by the state in no way matches that amount.

What is even more important is that any increase in funding to schools would differentially impact on poorer and better-off students. The Rand Corporation recently reported (Grissmer, Flanagan and Williamson, 1998:11) that:

> . . . a more consistent story is emerging from the empirical data that is more supportive of the thesis that additional money matters a lot for minority and disadvantaged students, but much less or little for advantaged students.

However, in New Zealand, we might have at least one example that demonstrates quite clearly that money does make a difference, and that it doesn't matter if the people come from the poor end of town, or when we first get to work with them. Dilworth School in Auckland, is an example of what might occur if saving public money was not the object. It caters only to poor children and enables selected children to have either a seven or nine year scholarship to an excellent education.

Dilworth School, Auckland, New Zealand

The Dilworth school was founded using funds from the Will of James Dilworth, who died in 1894. The principal of the school (MacLean, 1998a:1) reports that the goal of the Trust that oversees the will is to raise and educate the sons of people in 'straitened circumstances.' Dilworth scholarships are for 5 (starting in year 7) or 7 (starting in year 5) years and selection is based on financial and family circumstances and the ability of a boarding school education to develop 'the potential of the whole person.' Academic ability is not a significant selection criterion. The school has an annual operating budget of $8M or about $15,500 for each of its 530 students (full time boarders). Each year the Trust is able to accommodate around 75 boys, from the 600–700 applicants. The Trust is now investigating the possibility of opening a girls' school.

The school has maximum class sizes of 24 and its current student/teacher ratio is 12/1. The ethnic breakdown is European 84 percent, Maori 12 percent and Other 4 percent. This reflects New Zealand society, together with the Maori and Pacific Islander reluctance to 'give up' their sons to boarding school life. There is an extensive guidance and counselling service available to both the boys and their families. Most students stay until the end of Year 12 and around 80 percent would go on to Year 13. Of the leavers after Year 12, all would go to further education or work—or both—and *no student* leaves without something very specific to go to—even if the school has to find the job for him.

If the economic rationalists are right, or if those who argue that small class sizes are only effective in the early years are right, then increasing the level of funding to these students would have little or no effect. However, the principal of the school reports (MacLean, 1998b:1) '. . . our current Year 12s were significantly below national averages when they entered the school five years ago. At the end of 1997 in the National Certificate exams, as a group they were 12 percent ahead of the national average for their best four subjects.'

The evidence here shows that funding (and the good teaching, the broad curriculum and extra-curricular programme and pastoral care, all of which have been restricted in public schools by decreasing the funding base) goes beyond simple academic achievement. Dilworth graduates make the most of their good fortune. There are many successful old boys: 'barristers and solicitors, and a couple of judges, a Governor General (1980s) and a Prime Minister (early 1990s), four cabinet ministers, musicians, artists and plenty of managing directors of big companies' (MacLean 1998b:2).

On all the stereotypes, these boys should have not succeeded. They came from the wrong end of town, their family background was less than supportive. They came into the system late in their school careers. Yet the combination of a substantial funding base, together with a powerful will to succeed by the school and its workers, led to what can only be considered as outstanding results. It is very difficult to argue a case from a single example, but this one seems powerful enough to make a point. The real problem is that it is unlikely that there are many Dilworth Schools, anywhere in the world, to broaden the data base. Perhaps if there were, we would not even have to argue the case.

The Self-Managing School and the Market

All over the world, where the self-managing school has been opened up to the market, we find similar things occurring. In the United Kingdom, Gilborn and Youdell (1998:1–3) identified the critical dimensions of education reform. It included:

- devolved funding
- parental choice
- diversity of offerings
- curricular control
- standards
- accountability.

However, they argued (Gilborn and Youdell, 1998:1): 'There is strong evidence to suggest that local school choice markets operate in ways that reflect and maintain existing social class differences.' In Grant Maintained Schools, which were proposed to allow parents who sent their children to poorer schools to escape the clutches of the 'looney left' education authorities, (Barber, 1996:55) it was found that schools from the more well off areas chose to become Grant Maintained.

Recent research into school choice presented by Richard Elmore from Harvard at the 1996 American Education Research Association conference in New York found that 'parents participating in choice programs in Detroit, Milwaukee, St Louis, San Antonio and Montgomery County, Md., are better educated, have higher-achieving children and are more involved in their youngsters' schooling than parents whose children remain behind in neighbourhood schools' (Henry: 1996:1). This provides an indication that choice may help to increase the gap between those parents able to make appropriate choices and those parents, who because of their own previous educational disadvantage, make the wrong choice, or who fail to choose at all.

Ritter (1998:1–2) provides another example of how social class provides differential educations for students when he compares two Californian schools; Ross, where the median home price is $750,000 and where 'almost 40 percent of the schools' $2.6 million budget comes from fund-raisers, parent donations and a special tax the town of 2,200 levies on itself', and Wilmington Park, where household income is less than $10,000 and where 'the year's big fund-raiser, a spring candy sale, netted about $5,000.' He argues 'parents who could afford $10,000 a year private school recognise that they have a good deal at Ross. They're giving less than that to a [school support] foundation, and it is tax-deductible. Private school fees isn't. Plus they get all the benefits of a neighbourhood school, a sense of community.'

There is similar evidence in New Zealand, where Watson *et al.* (1997:102) found that:

> Local schools were consistently populated by students whose families had lower SES than others in their neighbourhoods. In contrast students who attended adjacent or distant schools were from families which had relatively high SES in comparison with their neighbourhoods . . .
>
> . . . it was the *relatively well-off* students who attended adjacent schools after 1991; those *relatively worse off* were most likely to go to their local school.

They concluded 'it is our belief that competition has not brought about, and will not bring about, social justice. In many cases it has only served to increase educational and ultimately social inequalities' (Watson *et al.*, 1997:108).

In Australia, where governments have maintained the line that every school must admit children from their local area, we have people moving across town from one suburb to another, just so their kids can go to a 'better' school. We have some schools with waiting lists half as long as their school population and the real estate agents are making a killing. But only those parents with resources can make the change.

Even in Africa, where the post-apartheid government introduced choice as a means of improving the system, *The Sunday Times* reports (Garson, 1998:12) that:

> . . . flight is reaching epic proportions. Panic hovers over the public school sector as pupil numbers fluctuate wildly in tandem with parental neurosis.
>
> There is a knock-on effect throughout the public school sector. Township children are vacating their local schools for better-resourced former Indian, coloured and white suburban schools far away. And while many township schools stand half-empty, others are filling up rapidly with children from informal settlements.
>
> Meanwhile, children living in the suburbs and metropolitan areas are fleeing state and well-resourced former Model C schools, opting for private education.

Hughes (1996:1) argued 'We may be tempted to ask why we should use a business concept in the reform of education. Business has not been uniformly successful, even in surviving. Of the top 100 firms on the business magazine Fortune list of 1970, one-third had gone out of business by 1990.' Are we to accept the possibility that one-third of our schools will not be in existence in twenty years time? What are the implications of this for communities and individual students? Western governments have been seduced by the market view of the world and have lost their prime focus, namely, to provide universal human services to whole populations.

The essential fallacy of the market for human service delivery is that not all people have similar options. It is right and proper for parents, teachers and principals to work on the basis that they should do the very best for the children in their care. They should select the best teachers they can, provide the best curriculum possible and raise as many funds as they can. There is no inherent difficulty in this, and it has been happening since schools were formed. It is my opinion, however, that governments have the responsibility to ensure that every child has access to a quality education and that they are currently abdicating this responsibility in the belief that the market will fix things up. In another place (Townsend 1998b:204), I argued:

> The rhetoric says that one could choose a school just as easily as one could choose a car. However, in the real world choice is limited to the people who have resources. The poor have as much chance of choosing to send their child to a high fee paying school (either government or non-government) as they have of choosing a Rolls Royce as their preferred method of transport. The truth is that some people will send their child to the nearest school and will use public transport, or walk, not because they want to, but because they have neither the resources, nor the understanding, not to do so.

What we have in Victoria at the moment is a government that is not doing all that it can to balance the ledger, but is doing the opposite. It is establishing processes and programs that have been shown internationally to enhance some at the expense of others. The self-managing school has been used as a screen to implement a market ideology in full. Unfortunately, it seems that governments around the world, and most of all political parties, have accepted the same position. Somewhere along the line, someone has conned them.

Conclusion

It could be argued that all of the evidence suggests that the circumstances under which schools operate are changing, both rapidly and dramatically. In Victoria, for instance, only 30 percent of the voting population currently has a child in a public school. Fifty-five percent don't have a child in any school and one-third of those that do, have a child in a non-government school. And many of the people who do not have a child in a government school have not been to one in years. The government can (and does) advertise to the seventy percent what a good job they are doing, and unless government schools encourage their communities (not just parents) to see what is happening, the voting public will not know any different. It could be argued that if schools are to survive into the longer term, then they need to change. Not only do they need to recruit whole communities as their supporters, but they also need to recognise the changes that have happened in our society.

Perhaps we need to change our way of thinking about schools from what Townsend *et al.* (*In press*) call Second Millennium Thinking to Third Millennium thinking. They argue that schools as they have been conceptualised in the past are no longer relevant to the current social and economic climate and need to be reviewed. They provide a list of comparisons between what might be considered as Second Millennium Schools and those that will replace them in the near future. Many schools currently display some of the Third Millennium characteristics, but in the near future, if they are to survive, all schools will have to be guided by the new ways of thinking about schools. Some of the changes that schools might have to embrace, if they are to move from Second to Third Millennium thinking include:

Second Millennium Schools	**Third Millennium Schools**
Schools provide formal education programmes which students must attend for a certain minimum amount of time.	People have access to learning 24 hours a day 365 days a year through a variety of sources, some of which will be schools.
Schools offer a broad range of curricula to prepare students for many varied life situations.	Schools offer a narrow curriculum focusing on literacy, numeracy, and generic technological and vocational skills.
Teachers are employed to 'know'. The learner fits in with the teacher.	Teachers are employed to match teaching to the needs of the learner.
Schools are communities of learners, where individuals are helped to reach their potential.	Schools are learning communities where everyone (students, teachers, parents, administrators) is both a learner and a teacher, depending on the circumstances.

The information to be learned is graded in a specific way and is learned in a particular order. Everyone gets a similar content, with only limited differentiation based on interest.	Information is accessed according to the learner's capability and interest. The information will vary greatly after basic skills are learned.
Schools are still much the same in form and function as they were when they were first developed.	Schools as we know them have been dramatically altered in form and function, or have been replaced.
Schools have limited, or no, interaction with those who will employ their students or the people from the community in which the school resides.	Communities will be responsible for the education of both students and adults. Business and industry will be actively involved in school developments.
Schools are successful if they fit their students into a range of possible futures from immediate employment as factory hands and unskilled workers to tertiary education for training as professionals.	Schools will only be successful if *all* students have the skills required to work within, and adapt to, a rapidly changing employment, social and economic climate.
Formal education institutions are protected from the 'market'.	Formal education institutions are subject to 'market' forces.

Townsend *et al., In press.*

However, perhaps one other thing needs to be remembered in this market driven world. If less than 30 percent of the adult population currently has a child in a public school, and if we need the support of all the voting population to survive, then we need to ask ourselves what we might do to address this imbalance. Schools will need to respond to the educational needs of whole communities, not just the 20 percent that are students. This may also mean expanding the school day, the school week, the school year, from the current 15 percent (work it out for yourself) to something much higher. So what does this mean for the future of schools?

In my view, the best education that we can hope for, for our children, for our families and for our country is one that is local (that is, in my community) and global (that is, provides access to the knowledge resources of the whole world). It is grounded in the community in which I live but opens up a world of possibilities. It is educative and it is social. It provides me with the skills that I need now and gives me access to those that I will need later. I am linked to my education at all times of the day and no matter where I am in the world. My school age children, the rest of my family, my neighbours and my friends can all participate with me. We would want the best school to be my local school.

In short, this new institution called school has become a community facility which is sometimes used for the education of children and has replaced the school which was not a community facility, but was only sometimes used for the education of children. Perhaps we should adapt the homily used by the little town of Independence, Missouri: 'You don't have to move to live in a better town.' Perhaps we should address the market perspective of schools head on by arguing:

> *You don't have to move to go to a better school . . .*
> *. . . but you do have to do something!*

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MAORI EDUCATION: INTEGRATING THE POWER OF THE FIRST AND SECOND MILLENNIUMS, WITH THE THIRD

THE VOICES OF THE ANCESTORS: WHO IS LISTENING NOW?

A RESPONSE TO PROFESSOR TOWNSEND'S ADDRESS

Kathie Irwin
He Parekereke: Institute for Research and Development in Maori Education
School of Education
Victoria University of Wellington

Ko Hikurangi me Moumoukai nga Maunga,
Ko Waiapu me Nuhaka nga awa,
Ko Ngati Porou me Ngati Kahungunu nga Iwi,
Ko Putaanga me Rakaipaaka nga Hapu,
Ko Heni Campbell me Te Kauru Hohepa nga Tipuna.
Ko Kathie Irwin ahau.
Tihei mauri ora!

E te kaihautu rangitahi, David, e te kaihautu tawhito, Anne,
tena korua e nga rangatira i te ao matauranga.

E te kaikorero tuatahi o te ata nei, e Tony,
Tena koe, tena koe, tena koe e pa.
Nau mai haere mai ki NZCER.
Ka nui te koa o taku hinengaro ki te whakahoki ki
o whakaaro pounamu.
Tony, our first speaker, I greet you and add my welcome to NZCER to you.
It has been an intellectual joy to respond to your paper, amounting as it does to a valuable
analysis.

E aku hoa,
E nga tangata o tenei hui,
Rau rangatira ma,
Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Introduction

This time twenty years ago I was a newly-trained Maori primary school teacher completing an honours degree in education, looking for answers to questions about what was going on in Maori education! The prevailing schools of thought at the time gave me much to be concerned about. Those schools of thought argued the views that we now know as deficit and deprivation theory, essentially victim blaming in nature. I was clear then that our people were not 'the problem', that is, that victim blaming did not offer a comprehensible answer to the global dislocation and oppression of indigenous peoples through education! I was clear then that we were talking about systemic, structural, macro level issues, which were the artefacts of particular historical patterns experienced in common by many indigenous peoples (Bullivant, 1981) (I have to say that, one of my honours teachers is here today!). I wasn't as clear about how to promote long term, sustainable change in Maori education.

Here I am today, finishing the last of my degrees in education, still working on what's going on in Maori education! One of the big differences is that these days we know how to promote change and we know why, we know what change we want, we also know what is stopping us from doing this and how. Maori have clear visions for the future, for education: the articulation of these visions is an exercise of rangatiratanga, of sovereignty. They are a legacy left to us by our ancestors, from ages past, te 'ha a koro ma a kui ma, the breath of life from forebears' (Pere, 1987:62). This exercise of rangatiratanga, for many Maori, draws from the traditional wisdom's of our ancestors, learnt through approaches to 'ako', learning and teaching, which are characteristically Maori (Metge, 1983), including the integration of wairuatanga, spirituality (Pere, *op cit.*), and which are fundamentally shaped by Maori world views and epistemologies (Salmond, 1983). These visions draw knowledge from the first and second millenniums into our consciousness to be integrated with that which we will find in the new millennium: the process is synergetic, it is holistic, it is premised on connectivity. The process is not about the wisdom of one millennium displacing the next, and becoming dislocated from them; rather it is a about being integrated with them. It is an educative process which by its very nature is Maori and one which has more in common with other indigenous ways of knowing than the Western tradition.

A critical feature of these visions is that in answer to the question 'what's 'Maori' about Maori visions?' (Penetito (1997) and Hall (1994)), they are Maori in epistemological terms. In terms drawn from a Maori world view which espouses views about theories of knowledge which stand them apart from any other ethnic or cultural group in the world. Whilst we may share some generalised experiences of colonisation with other peoples, it is in this realm of epistemology and world view that the specificities of ethnic and cultural groups are located. Diversification in 'the classification and framing of educational knowledge' (Bernstein, 1977) can be traced to this source.

Implementing these visions is something else, a task which is premised on the exercise of successful partnerships at many levels, not the least of which is partnership with the state. We know that changing education requires much more than school-based reform: it is about fundamental social and economic reform. We just don't have the numbers which comprise the critical mass necessary for the revolution, yet! But we're working on it, and, unlike the argument which Donna Awatere advanced in *Maori Sovereignty* in the mid-1980s, we do need to form alliances (Awatere, 1984) in this work. Maori have been systematically locked out of positions of power in the creation of this country and we will need to be able to work with non-Maori who can deliver rangatiratanga with us in the partnership model. We also need 'the cons' of our disempowerment unmasked by people other than ourselves (Fanon, 1968) because when Maori unmask them we are described as polemic, passionate and political. When non-Maori unmask them you are described as scholarly, dispassionate and insightful.

This conference provides another opportunity to create new alliances, new synergy, to unmask a little more of the facade that holds Maori education back and and to once again share a little of the visions drawn from our traditions, and that's why I'm here.

Four recent school-based research projects that I was invited to undertake have added special meaning to this response. They are:

1. *Practising Partnership Principles: The Treaty at the Chalkface*, a study carried out in the Taranaki region, 1992 – 1994 (Irwin, K. and Broughton, R. with Karena, M. and Robinson, L, 1994);
2. *What happens to Maori girls at school?*, a study carried out in the Wellington region, 1991–1994, (Carkeek, L., Davies, L. and Irwin, K., 1994);
3. *Under No Illusions*, a study including all the schools on the East Coast, 1998 (Irwin, K., 1998a);
4. *The Strengthening East Coast Schooling Project*, a study carried out on the East Coast, 1998 (Irwin, K. *et al.*, 1998b, c, d).

With ten minutes I cannot take the traditional academic approach in this response, reaching the conclusion in the time needed to establish scholarly excellence with rigour, and keeping the reader on the edge of their seats until then . . . it takes too long! No, it has to be the essence of the journalistic approach: conclusions up front, bottom line first to grab you. It also owes a good deal to the very Western traditions that indigenous peoples eschew in our emancipation because I'll have to resort to reading it rather than eloquently orating it!

I want to address three themes in this response to your excellent paper, Tony, which I very much enjoyed reading. Namely:

1. Virtual reality and Maori experiences of this;
2. Dreaming as part of educational discourses; and,
3. *Ideological Manoeuvres* in Maori Education.

These themes have been shaped in response to a number of major themes in the paper which have struck a particular resonance with the field of Maori education. Namely:

1. That the self-managing school has not been shown to have a marked effect on improving student achievement;
2. That the self-managing school has been used as a screen to implement a market ideology in full; and
3. That the introduction of self-managing schools has been accompanied by a reduction in the funding of public education.

1. Virtual Reality and Maori Experiences of This

When we hear 'virtual' these days in educational analyses, the context is invariably the new millennium, the impact of new technology and the global economic changes which are daily changing our lives, and for which we all now need either economic degrees, or close associations with economists, to understand. Luckily, for me, I had such a brief association a few years ago, listening to an Australian economist by the name of Philip Ruthven (1993). His analysis led to a conclusion which Maori and other indigenous peoples had been positing for years; he just took a different pathway to get there. There were two main points to be taken from his analysis:

1. That biculturalism and bilingualism will be the biggest single issues we grapple with into the next century; and
2. That they are now at the top of every agenda because of . . . changes to the world economy.

The changes to the world economy, he argued, have taken us out of the last 200-year cycle of world economic growth which was an industrial revolution, to the next 200-year cycle, the post-industrial age of information and services (Ruthven, 1993:4).

And what have Maori experienced from the changes to these economic cycles in the last fifteen years? Virtual unemployment, virtual poverty, virtual lifestyles below the poverty line. Virtual, not in the hip *Information Technology*, new millennium, space age, cybernetic sense of the word. No, that's all too clever and expensive. This is 'virtual' in the sense that in some parts of the country so many share the experience that it is a shorthand version for 'virtually all'! You'd think that it left people with virtually no hope and virtually no faith left in the possibilities of new tomorrows, in the possibility that effective schooling might still be delivered.

And yet as my work in a recent research project confirmed, many Maori still have great hope for education and for the futures of our people and faith that they will be realised. As part of the Strengthening East Coast Schooling Project (1998) I sat and listened as parents and others in their communities shared their dreams about their vision for their children's education. They want the best education possible for their children. No two ways about it. And they want their children educated for the new tomorrow, for the real today and for the old yesterday which frames who we are in Maori terms (Irwin *et al.*, 1998b; Irwin *et al.*, 1998c; Irwin *et al.*, 1998d). Such visions were also characteristic of those gathered from a group of Maori educators by Vyletta Tapine, assisted by Danica Waiti, here at NZCER and published as *He Tirohanga ki Mua* (1997).

The whanau on the Coast also spoke about wanting their children to be taught by 'live teachers'. Now, there was a fleeting second where I tried to imagine the extremes of that view . . . if you get the rather macabre drift of that thought. What they were saying was that learning at a distance, through correspondence, is second best. Their experiences with correspondence education, as it is currently delivered, may not be the same as the virtual classroom of the future which will be so zappy and technologically advanced that it will be a whiz bang experience for all. And so the analysis may not hold. But, it just might, and we need to be alert to these possibilities. Virtual classrooms for Maori may still need to provide for a group setting, in which real people come together to experience learning in the fullest range of senses possible, including touch, smell, sight, taste, feel, as a shared human experience.

They said that they wanted to be part of the learning as well: as parents. They asked for adult education programmes so that the children went home after school into a community whose homes were equally as enthusiastic and positive about learning, growing and living as the school was. This vision was built on many dreams and a significant section of those dreams related to the need to work with whanau members in their continuing education. A wide range of adult education programmes were called for so that parents and whanau members could also become a part of the learning community their children enjoy. As one father put it 'long gone are the days when you can expect the children to get help from home, children are going home with more knowledge than the parents.' He argued that it was unfair on children to push them hard in the area of home school support for education if the parents were feeling uneducated or undereducated by comparison.

Some of these adult education programmes could enable whanau to play a role in their children's education and could be called *Parenting for Schooling Programmes* and cover the broad spectrum of children's needs from early childhood to primary to secondary education. Such programmes would enable whanau to know: what is expected of each level of schooling; how to help their children to be ready for each stage; and, how to help them through each stage. Parent help with reading, spelling, maths, research and project work is usually expected from schools. It is an attitudinal matter to want to help your children with their homework, it is an educational matter to know how. The know how will be the main aims of such courses . . . how to help with homework in general, with attitudes and motivation towards education can all be part of an exciting, stimulating parents programme. It is critical that such skills, values and attitudes exist in the community in the future but it should not be automatically assumed that they are there at the moment. Building them, teaching them, enabling whanau to learn them would be a central platform of *Parenting for Schooling Programmes.*

Other programmes will need to focus on vocational and areas of personal interest for adults. Breaking the cycles of alcohol and drug abuse is a vital goal for some communities. There will be many strategies needed to achieve this, but education, training and employment could be a major strategy. Adult education programmes offering such opportunities can link in with NZQA approved courses and diplomas so that as well as being an active part of the learning community, in itself an empowering and uplifting experience, adults are able to create links between education, training and further employment by gaining credits for qualifications. Linked to such upskilling is the critical goal of employment, and the school and community has a right to look to the state to create economic development and job creation so that the cycles of economic and social disadvantage which shape current realities will not undermine future visions. The state will also need to take a vital role in providing resource-based linkages between income support, education, training and employment programmes and packages. Schooling alone cannot transform some of the 'virtual realities' Maori face.

Despite the clear articulation of Maori aspirations for Maori education, and these are but the latest in a very long succession of such statements from Maori to the state, in numerous reports and submissions, the state has delivered little real power to Maori to create innovative solutions (*Maori Education Commission, Report 2,* 1998). Maori are not trusted to know what Maori want, Maori are not trusted to be able to develop innovative long-term solutions, Maori are expected to be one mind and one thought. The expression of rangatiratanga in Maori education, in the form of clear visions and aspirations, has not been met with a partnership response from the state which enables their implementation. This, despite current Ministry of Education rhetoric that 'one size won't fit all', a call which on the surface suggests that diverse pathways to new educational futures might be possible (Fancy, 1997).

2. Dreaming as Part of Educational Discourses

Given the statistics in Maori education that have plagued this country for decades now, and which you note, Tony, you may well ask, where do Maori get the hope to carry on from? There are many answers to this. One source is from our dreams, from our past, from our traditions, from our ancestors, from our beginnings as a people. Against the odds, they inspire, motivate and re-energise us. Like other indigenous peoples in the global community, we share characteristics in our world view which transcend the forms Western knowledge takes and which open up new possibilities, new ways of knowing. The role of dreaming, of visioning in indigenous world views is one such characteristic which positions our traditions in opposition to Western ways of knowing. Our dreaming is a feature of te taha wairua, of the spiritual dimension, not easily accommodated within the secular education system.

E hine!
ka kite koe I te puawaitanga
o te moemoea, te wawata
Ka ronga hoki koe
I te pumanawa — pumau . . .
E hine! E kore e Waikura e.

Young girl! the time will
come to pass when you will
realise our dreams, our hopes,
you will also experience the
deeper meaning of intuitive
intelligence, creativity —
innate qualities . . . Young
girl! These do not perish with
time.
(Pere, 1987:53)

In some quarters, being described as a dreamer is a form of derision. And yet, for Maori, as Rangimarie Rose Pere has so eloquently written *To Us the Dreamers are Important* (Pere, 1987). Pere writes 'I have had dreams for as far back as I can remember, and I continue to have dreams. For me the dreams enable me to capture the magic that comes with each day' (Pere, 1987: 53). The significance of dreams and visions are an accepted feature of the Maori world view. Many tribal and pan tribal Maori histories include stories of dreams and visions which have shaped the destiny of their people. The Ratana Movement was created by Tahu Potiki Ratana following a spiritual vision he received in 1918 (Metge, 1976:187). In 1906 Rua Kenana, emerged as a Tuhoe messianic prophet, and led by way of a 'millennial dream' (Webster, 1979:5).

> He used the dream to lure people on, to give them the hope which they so desperately needed and without which even the simplest task becomes a burden. (*Ibid*).

The role and place of dreaming within the Maori world view is similar to that of other indigenous peoples. James Miller (1985), for example, in *Koori: A Will to Live*, The Heroic Resistance, Survival and Triumph of Black Australia, reflects on the significance of 'the dreaming' in Koori world views. Indeed, he starts his text in 'the dreaming.'

> The Valley was always there. It was there in the Dreaming, though mountains, trees, animals and people were not yet formed . . . Both man and animal descended from the spirits and moved over the earth. They were related to each other through interactions that had taken place in the dreaming (1985:1).

For over a decade now we have gathered as indigenous peoples, every three years, somewhere in the world to share our stories of these new awakenings with each other. In Canada (1987), then here in Aotearoa (1990), in Australia in (1993), in America in (1996). Next year, in 1999, we are all due to meet in Hawaii. Then, as always, the theme of the conference will be 'The Answers Lie Within Us.' This is not about asking for power from outside; it is about reclaiming the energy from within to take it back. It is also about critically examining the degree to which solutions derived from the Western tradition, the very tradition that was pivotal in our displacement and disempowerment, can make a difference in the empowerment sought in indigenous education. As has been the case at many such recent international indigenous gatherings, Maori will travel to Hawaii in great numbers. As we do, we will continue to demonstrate that Maori education is indeed about 'thinking globally, acting locally' (Irwin, 1998). Thoroughly modern Maoris, we interrogate the global from a local view.

As we move towards the third millennium, many Maori are taking a traditional view: looking to the future by facing the past, that is a loose translation of the title of the NZCER publication on visions for Maori Education *He Tirohanga ki Mua*. Moving into that new time will bring new challenges and much change as Tony sets out in the early parts of his paper (Townsend, 1998). New curriculum, new equipment, new skills, new information technology challenges, change of the kind we cannot even predict, as he notes. There can be no doubt: change is here to stay on the educational agenda. Schooling as we know it is set to be radically redesigned: unrecognisable to us 'oldies' as schooling. And not before time, David Hood would have us believe. *In Our Secondary Schools Don't Work Anymore* (1998:29) Hood argues that 'many secondary schools in New Zealand are still geared towards a delivery model designed for a world that no longer exists.'

But, not everything will be new. Much much more about education will not change. The values of respect, of human dignity and worth, of loyalty, of aroha, of compassion, of pride in oneself and one's school, of pride in being descendants of our ancestors . . . these things need not change. These are fundamentals of humanity that no amount of social change or circumstance need ever displace from their central place in the education offered by any institution, in this millennium or the next. They, not knowledge itself, are the poutokomanawa, the central pillars, of the whare that is 'the house of learning.' To them are attached knowledge about self, about whanau, about the local, regional, national, global and spiritual communities to which we all belong as well as the skills necessary to develop them.

More than a place of book learning, which in itself is a critical goal to achieve, the vision for Maori education is that every Maori child will attend a truly 'intelligent school' (Myers *et al.*, 1997) in the most modern sense of this word, enabling all who are part of its vision to achieve the many different kinds of intelligences that schools can exhibit. Contextual, strategic, academic, reflective, pedagogical, collegial, emotional, spiritual and ethical intelligences: some of these labels may seem new and strange to us. What they stand for is not. These are the nine intelligences that are features of 'the corporate intelligence of the intelligent school' (Myers *et al.*, 1997). They are comprehensive in their brief, they cover all aspects of the educational enterprise and they touch a chord with kaupapa Maori understandings of wellbeing which are holistic in nature (Durie, 1994): working with the wellbeing of the family, the mind, the body and the soul.

And these intelligent schools must be accessible to all: regardless of where you live, town or city, who you are, Maori or non Maori, and what your personal circumstances are, whether you are male or female, rich or poor (with thanks to Dr Beeby and Peter Fraser). My sense at the moment is that they will not be. They will be increasingly the domain of the rich such that economic wealth will be more rapidly aggregated with cultural and educational wealth than we have ever seen before, such is the rate of change we are beset by. The already rich have the means to get even more information rich, and much faster. There are parts of New Zealand where going surfing still requires that you get wet, these parts of the country are already being taken over by the net surfers.

The 'intelligent schools' of the future will be places where the whole person, and the full range of people, the whole community, the whole school is cared for and educated in the fullness of their being. They will be effective schools in a holistic sense, across a range of intelligences, not just effective in a managerial sense. This is a challenge of the new millennium.

3. *Ideological Manoeuvres in Maori Education*

Maori educational underachievement remains the Achilles heel in education in Aotearoa today, as it has for decades. Statistics of educational achievement annually detail the gap between Maori and non-Maori. This gap, known as 'the disparity', has shown little sign of closing for decades. Statistics on those who leave school with no qualification, School Certificate pass rates, Sixth Form Certificate, University Bursary and University Scholarship results, all show non-Maori achieving at levels well in advance of Maori. The recent Te Puni Kōkiri Report *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Maori and Non Maori* (1998) provides the latest statistics on this. This has long been recognised as a national, structural, systemic issue which is part of the legacy of colonisation in this country. A legacy in which education was a pivotal sector of the state apparatus used to subjugate Maori. This scenario is not new, it is also not unique to Aotearoa. The role of education in colonisation is an international phenomenon. Countless research reports, committees, commissions and scholarly accounts have articulated this scenario, in ever-increasing detail, over the years.

Then, in 1996, an event occurred which was positioned to radically alter the discourses of Maori educational achievement. The Education Review Office (1996) released the report, *Improving Schooling in Mangere and Otara*, followed quickly by *Improving Schooling on the East Coast* (1997). Northland has recently been done. The Education Review Office position seems to be that such reports are a genuine attempt to make public information that will promote effective change in education, which will in turn contribute to the creation of a better education for children in these regions, most of whom are Maori. Such change, it is proposed, will come through the new partnerships created by the Ministry of Education and the communities in these regions, in the wake of the reports. The Ministry of Education is the state agency identified as critical in the delivery of the new outcomes, through the new partnerships, implementing Ministry policy and initiatives designed to improve schooling, such as the School Support Initiative. This may well be the state view of this scenario; it is not the only view possible.

An analysis of these events informed by critical theory (Gibson, 1986; Weiler, 1988) yields a different possible interpretation of them. Critical theory claims that it enables explanations of social events, such as educational inequality, to be offered at three distinct levels. Namely, Level 1, the personal and interpersonal level; Level 2, the institutional level; and Level 3, the structural level (Gibson, 1986:14–15). How then could these Education Review Office reports be 'read' from the perspective of critical theory? What these reports do is to shift explanations for Maori educational underachievement from level 3 to level 2: from the national, structural, systemic level to the regional, local and institutional level. The shift could also be interpreted as 'an ideological manoeuvre.' Grace defines ideological manoeuvre as:

> . . . a strategy of argument which appears to be sensitive to a wide range of concerns but which in fact is pursuing a single and narrow concern (1990:212).

Unable to resolve the issues of Maori educational achievement at the national level, rendering invisible the historical context of the issue, and the pivotal role of the state in its creation, the state is now changing the focus, repositioning the discourse, spotlighting specific regions and institutions, and holding *them* accountable for this aspect of national failure. This is the ideological manoeuvre: it is an alarming move which should not go unchallenged or unnoticed. Of particular concern is the issue that the completion of the manoeuvre is conditional upon the willing participation and cooperation of Maori.

It is the model of 'the self-managing school' that is used to make judgements about the degree to which schools are 'good schools, poor schools' (Education Review Office, 1998). It is in the context of the quest to perfect the self-managing school model that the ideological manoeuvre is occuring. This, when Townsend warns that:

> The self-managing school has been used as a screen to implement a market ideology in full. Unfortunately, it seems, Governments around the world, and of all political parties, have accepted the same position. Somewhere along the line, someone has conned them (Townsend, 1998:42).

Two possibilities for the manoeuvre present themselves:

1. To enable the state to wash its hands of responsibility for failure in Maori education.

   That responsibility for Maori educational underachievement will be handed over to regions, schools, and families to 'own.' The *failure* has a historical legacy of over 180 years in this country (since the first mission school was opened in 1816 by Thomas Kendall) (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). It has taken a huge effort on the part of the state to systematically create the conditions for this failure during that time: but, schooling, on its own, in corners of this country—incidentally the Maori corners—will change this and create effective schooling. You just watch: they will, because they have been told to, by the state in the form of damning government reports, and bullying tactics including the threat of school closure. This, despite what we now know about the complexity of Maori educational underachievement (Barrington, 1966; Benton, 1988; Carkeek *et al.*, 1994; Chapple *et al.*, 1997; Duff, 1994; Harker, 1973, 1980; Hirsh, 1990) and the numerous variables integral to its transformation which include, but exceed, school-based factors.

Not surprisingly, Maori have been commissioned to lead the manoeuvre from the inside. Franz Fanon (1968) and Paulo Freire (1970), leading writers in the area of colonisation and decolonisation, could almost have written the script! Don't get me wrong, I am not an apologist for failure. Far from it. Like Donna Awatere (1998) I have *Zero Tolerance* for failure in Maori education. I want change, real change, like many other Maori parents, which actually improves school effectiveness and which changes the profile of educational achievement amongst Maori students. We want long-term sustainable educational change which also means, at the very least, changing the socio-economic circumstances of these same communities if educational outcomes are indeed to change. And we want all stakeholders involved meaningfully in the process of change, taking responsibility for that which is theirs to manage and change.

This is not the historical moment to pass the buck of educational disparity into hands not responsible for it, using a model which international research and scholarship has shown to be inappropriate and ineffective.

2. *To save money*

Education, it seems, has been costing too much. The Government's own analyses of educational funding show that it has been declining since the advent of *Tomorrow's Schools*. These statistics and their analysis, outlined in *New Zealand Schools 1993* (Ministry of Education, 1994), the first school sector report to be published, show that government funding of primary and secondary schooling falls considerably short of schools' actual needs. Table 11 *Primary Schools' Financial Performance* shows that in 1992 the government grant to local funds ratio was: 78.72 percent to 21.28 percent. Table 12 details the secondary school ratio in *Secondary Schools' Financial Performance* as 65.97 percent to 34.03 percent (*op cit:* 36). The report notes that:

> The relative importance of government sourced income, other than that provided for teachers' salaries, varies significantly between primary and secondary. . . . In both cases, local funds are increasing faster than the increase in government funding. . . . (*op cit:* 35).

More recently a report to the New Zealand School Trustees Association (ESRA, 1998) on the *Operations Grant System and New Zealand Schools, 1989 – 1997,* reported the findings of previous research in the area which provided strong macro evidence of inadequacy in operations grant funding for New Zealand Schools (1998:1). The results were based on 'a number of indirect indicators, and in particular on:

- economic data that showed that the operations grant had not kept pace with inflation;
- financial data that showed that local fundraising had been increasing at faster rates than government funding, and
- statistical data that revealed a significant increase in the number of schools that were incurring operating and working capital deficits (1998:1).'

The danger is that the 'failure' label is used to argue a case of inefficiency and to send in the hatch-it people to slash the funding base even further. The Education Review Office Report (1997) *Strengthening East Coast Schooling* lists all the 'extras' Coast Schools get, showing how expensive they are to run . . . In the course of the Strengthening East Coast Schooling Project, this resourcing analysis was also sent out to every family, via the local school newsletters. One of the most senior advisers who serve this area happened to be sitting in our home the day the newsletter arrived . . . when he saw how much the Advisory Service was meant to have spent on the Coast he just laughed! In the course of previous research with these schools, a number mentioned that they had had their decile rating changed for 1998, for no apparent reason, with no noticeable changes in the economic circumstances of their communities. . . . which of course changes their basic operational grant funding level (Irwin, 1998).

The draft *Strategic Development Framework for the Delivery of Quality Education in East Coast Learning Centres,* developed as a response to the Education Review Office Report (1997) under contract to the Ministry of Education, and dated September 1998, includes the following short-term actions recommended to the Ministry of Education, to be completed by December 31, 1998:

iv. The implementation of a discretionary review process to determine the viability of schools.
v. The identification of the level of investment required for schools to meet minimum compliance.
vi. The determination of whether the level of investment is justifiable (Gardiner and Parata Limited, 1998:14).

Donna Awatere, in her latest book *Zero Tolerance* (1998), argues how cheaply some other schools in Christchurch can educate their pupils in comparison with the state schools on the Coast and to differing standards . . . Now, who could disagree with Donna on the *Zero Tolerance* in Maori education in relation to failure; we all want it stopped too! We want educational change to create educational success and empowerment, not for reasons driven by new right philosophies which may well be first steps in the move towards privatisation of education as Townsend warns (1998). The resourcing analysis in the book, for example, is used to support the case for ACT policy in education. And that is quite a different matter. The book is described in the foreword by the Hon. Richard Prebble, ACT Leader, as 'a new way to make policy. . . it is, if you like, a green paper setting out our views' (Prebble, 1998:3). It bemoans educational failure and suggests a way to promote change. That way is based on three concepts: 'choice, standards and the integration of educational and child welfare goals' (Awatere, 1998:119). How will choice be introduced?:

> ACT's current thinking is that choice would be introduced as an option. Parents who want vouchers could apply for it (*sic.*) (Awatere, 1998:123).

The case that it is the free market ideology that is driving changes to educational provision, including funding in this country, has been strengthened by Townsend's analysis (1998). There is a case to be made for 'strengthening Maori Education' which is derived from educational philosophy and theory, informed by the findings of the latest research and scholarship available to us; it is an educational agenda. The case to be made for 'strengthening Maori education' derived from the philosophy and theory which articulates the free market ideology, is a political agenda likely to create the outcomes we have seen for Maori in many other social and economic indicators since the advent of Rogernomics. That is, a small group prosper at the expense of the majority: what Townsend refers to as the '20:80' society, the 80 percent representing the unemployed (Townsend, 1988:3).

Conclusion

With all the political will in the world, and the system-wide responses required to support it, the innovative change ushered in in the form of the self-managing school has not had the desired effect of producing major change in student achievement profiles. There are ways to understand educational failure, to transform it and to create successful learning communities with integrity, soul and heart. Those are the learning communities Maori want, as do many other groups in our society. They will be 'the intelligent schools' (Myers *et al.*, 1997) of the Third Millennium, integrating the wisdom's learned in the First and Second Millennia. The ability of Maori to create such schools, as expressions of rangatiratanga, is seriously hampered by a lack of responsiveness from the state under the partnership model. What we have seen in the past decade is that political will exists to further political agenda for reform; it does not exist to establish a major educational agenda for reform for Maori.

Learning from our past is critical if we are to move forward together, and I stress both forward, and together: if we do not, we risk a future where we simply throw our unresolved dilemmas on to the net . . . The rich will get richer, in information and economic terms, and the state will stand by and watch this happen, arguing that it is 'the market way'.

That future may well be 'the market way' but I put it to you that it is not 'the New Zealand way'. We have both a right and a responsibility to stand up for the New Zealand way in education which is a free, state funded, public education system, of world class standard which any and every New Zealander has a right to access and achieve success in.

Kia ora koutou katoa.

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A RESPONSE TO PROFESSOR TOWNSEND'S ADDRESS

Graeme Marshall
Hutt Valley High School

Professor Glynn, Professor Townsend, distinguished conferees:

It is daunting to stand here charged with drawing the connection between international research findings and the New Zealand secondary school experience of educational reform over the last ten years. I am reminded of a friend, BERL economist Kel Sanderson, who said:

> When seeking the view of an economist, give me a one-armed economist any day; the two-armed variety are forever saying, on the one hand, blah, yet on the other, blah blah blah.

I'm a little ambivalent about our reforms in much the same way. In my work I find little time to reflect; indeed, as I shaved this morning I noticed that I was not reflecting in the mirror and felt a vague unease.

It has become almost de rigueur that comment on the reforms be prefaced with a statement that no one would seek a return to pre-1989, and I agree with that view. However, educational reform has not always led to the outcomes expected of it, and perhaps that reflects the fiscal context in which it was launched and the attendant split focus of the reformers.

The self-managing model was not such a shock to secondary schools. We had a long culture of individual Boards of Governors upon which to draw. In many ways the reforms were administrative only. The chief effect, at least initially, was multiply the budgets controlled by Boards by a factor of ten or twelve. Employment matters were unchanged, curriculum and assessment change continued in much the same way as previously, and the teacher in the classroom need not have noticed any difference at all. This was celebrated in some quarters, yet clearly this meant that what many of us understood to be the prime object of the reforms—improved educational outcomes for children—could not be met by this reform process.

In this, the findings of Caldwell (1998:38) that the linkage between self-management and improved outcomes is minimal, is entirely borne out in my experience. This is suggested in the earlier work of Malen, Ogawa and Kranz (1990) and Elmore (1993:44), and even more explicitly put in the findings of Bullock and Thomas (1997:137) who say "what remains elusive is clear-cut evidence of [local management] leading through to direct benefits on learning . . ."

Again, from my experience, it would seem self-evident that improved outcomes can only be achieved by that which directly impinges on the work done by teachers and students in the classroom. Administrative reforms such as those of *Tomorrow's Schools* can only influence the setting in which teachers and students work, and thus have an indirect effect. The effectiveness of teachers is hard enough to determine in a direct way. Trying to determine it through indirect means must exponentially increase the risk of error.

However, some of the effects of *Tomorrow's Schools* have been insidious. It has taken time for them to become apparent although concerns were raised about the theory which underpinned them. Notable in this are the way in which curriculum and assessment change is now managed— by the letting of contracts—and the way in which educational interest groups such as the teacher unions and representative principals groups have been sidelined in much educational debate. In New Zealand, the notorious phrase 'provider-capture' was used as a manna to ward off the evil one. This has meant that much of what might have occurred to the benefit of students has not. In a *Listener* article written in 1986 C.E. Beeby noted that unless teachers owned change it wouldn't happen. Further, even if they did, the pace of change in schools was generational. Our reformers have been too impatient with, and contemptuous of that which they have wanted to reform. The consequence of this has been predictable. It is my experience that the principal can state what he or she wants, but if the teacher does not agree, then when the door gently seals class and teacher into their space, the influence of the principal is minimal.

Professional development of teachers is now quite haphazard and unsystematic. For a considerable period, a purist view accorded little role for the centre in managing this process. The advantage of a unified concept of teacher training has been lost with a multiplicity of providers now working in the field. Whether this will have the effect noted in Britain where the institution of a national curriculum was greatly impeded by inconsistent training standards and goals remains to be seen. Anecdotally, principals are expressing some concern at the apparent unevenness of selection criteria applied to teacher trainees. There is a feeling in schools that they are increasingly being expected to do the basic sorting and weeding of trainees.

Professor Townsend has sketched a global picture in which educational reform sits. His image of globalised national economies, impacting technologies, increasing speed of change, changes in employment patterns—particularly the casualisation of employment and youth non-participation —further differentiation between the haves and have nots, a widening gap in educational achievement between different social groups and increasing user-pays are all ruefully familiar in New Zealand. So, too, is the Volvo vigilante described by American educational writer Alfie Kohn who coined the phrase to describe those who benefited from current arrangements and who blocked reform because it threatened to remove the advantages that they enjoyed by extending them to others. The difficulty in selling the concept, called 'mediating effectiveness' by Diana Banks, is caused by excessive competitiveness, or fear.

I loved Martin and Schumann's idea of 'tittytainment' and will use that again—I might even acknowledge my source, but not if I think I can get away with it. Huxley anticipated this with his 'feelies' in Brave New World. More recently, adolescent fiction writer, Robert Westall, in Futuretrack 5 postulated a Britain where a modern Walting Street divided the nation into those who wished to live a civilised existence and those who wished to ride motorbikes at lethal speed—or watch others do so. Interestingly, you qualified to live in the civilised sector of society by passing an examination at the end of your schooling. All this seems unsurprising in New Zealand today.

The work of the Education Review Office has brought some of the debate into sharp focus. The Review Office has got into hot water especially with teacher unions over its insistence on a fairly pure model of the early school effectiveness model—that schools can and do make all the difference. If one Decile One school can do a good job, then so can all the others. If one Decile Ten school can perform, so can all the others to the same extent. By appearing to downplay the influence of the child's background on educational achievement, ERO has challenged the teachers' view that all can achieve, given appropriate—by which they mean different and enhanced—resourcing. Essentially, the teacher unions have taken the equity argument or 'mediating effectiveness', that which is designed to reduce the gap. Maori have been concerned that while their educational outcomes have improved, the gap between Maori performance and that of the majority participants has not closed. They feel that they are suffering from a concept of 'effectiveness' which delivers equally to all, rather than equitably.

School effectiveness research has impacted on the New Zealand experience. We have had governments for 14 years which have been strongly influenced by the public choice theories originating in the Vienna School of the late 1930s. The doyen of that group, Hayek, has his devotees in the corridors and backrooms of power in New Zealand. From public choice theory emerges a faith in the efficacy of the market to solve all problems. Reynolds (1994:4) says that "the heart of the matter is the fiction cultivated by educational marketers that schools do not just make a difference but that they make all the difference". In New Zealand we have a population which is unnecessarily and unhelpfully desperate about education. We are in danger of creating yet another major disappointment. Just as in the post-war world of the fifties educationalists claimed that education was the answer to the world's problems, so we have a new wave of speakers making the same claim. The 50s and 60s disappointed; so will we because education can only be part of the solution, albeit a significant part. Part of the backlash felt by educators now can be attributed to a loss of faith, in turn the result of our failure to deliver on that earlier grand promise.

In New Zealand now we have the spectacle of large numbers of students traipsing across our cities and between towns in search of an educational El Dorado. The recent research of Helen Ladd and Ted Fiske reinforces the findings of Hughes and others that significant changes are afoot in the populations of New Zealand schools. When the government of the day announced its new decile ranking system some years ago, Tawa College principal, Bruce Murray, conjectured that affluent schools would not need to produce prospectuses any more; they would just need to highlight their decile. He has been proved right. This, too, might explain ERO's stated wish to nail what they term 'cruiser schools'—a term they have borrowed from the English experience. These are high decile schools which simply milk the talent which they skilfully pre-select, adding little of value themselves, yet all the while enjoying a great and enhancing reputation. Ladd and Fiske's research would support much of this, and Alfie Kohn would expect to see many Volvos lined up outside certain school gates to collect offspring at the end of the day.

In my experience, school effectiveness can only be perceived with the peripheral vision. If one turns one's full gaze upon it, it disappears. You know when it is present and when it is not present, but years and years of painstaking research have got us little nearer the scientific certainty some—pathetically—seek. Rutter *et al.'s* "Fifteen Thousand Hours" for me, remains seminal, because the emphasis of that work lay on removing researcher bias and on establishing a longitudinal view. The conclusions arrived at were tentative, as all must be in education given the complexity of inputs and outputs. Scheerens (1992:84) seems to summarise this adequately. Where structured teaching occurs and where effective learning time is created, schools will be effective. New Zealand experience would bear this out. We need to be allowed to get on with our main job. Deflections and distractions should be minimised.

It is astonishing, given the chaos about us, that schools remain so stable and student outcomes continue to compare favourably with those of earlier generations. But it is depressing that, like the hamster on the wheel, we are going flat tack to stay in much the same place.

Thank you Professor Townsend for the stimulus of your address.

"YES—BUT!"

A RESPONSE TO PROFESSOR TOWNSEND'S ADDRESS

Nola Hambleton
New Zealand Principals' Federation

Headline News!

> Something School is in crisis. The Board has resigned. The parents have passed a no confidence vote in the principal, and a commissioner is running the school.
>
> Parents are concerned that they are not getting sufficient information from schools about their children. To say, progressing well, is not enough.
>
> Principals are not giving Boards of Trustees all the information that they are entitled to. Disciplinary action could be initiated.

Those headlines are a reality in a self-managing environment. They are extreme of course, but they are current and they are indicative of problems, which have arisen in our schools in the past ten years.

They arise because what educators perceive as important outcomes of schooling may not coincide with the views of pupils, parents, Boards, the local community, Government or its agencies, or the media. It is also possible that any or all of these groups may have very different views on what is school effectiveness.

It was heartening to listen to the research presented by Professor Townsend, and the varying definitions of school effectiveness, because this is something that has caused considerable debate amongst school communities here in New Zealand. The research offered in his paper ranges from the early work of Edmonds across twenty years, culminating in the conclusion that schools do make a difference.

Others who have visited New Zealand recently have presented their views, such as Louise Stoll and Dean Fink (*Changing Our Schools,* 1995) who choose to define a school as effective if it:

- promotes progress for all of its pupils beyond what would be expected given consideration of initial attainment and background factors;
- ensures that each pupil performs at the highest standards possible;
- enhances all aspects of pupil achievement and development;
- continues to improve from year to year.

I have been struggling to remember when the term ‘Effective Schools’ first found its way from the pages of the researchers into our schools. I suspect it was early in the reforms called, at that time, *Tomorrow's Schools*. I was fascinated to hear Professor Townsend quote the various names given to the reforms by varying governments: Leading Schools, Schools of the Future, Better Schools and so on, all described by Professor Townsend as words that mean moving on or getting better. It occurs to me that according to the adage, ‘tomorrow never comes’, so I have this foreboding that our reforms are going to go on and on. Perhaps it is time we changed the name for our reforms. I digress. To a busy principal in the early days, Effective Schools meant getting the charter written, getting the policies underway, undertaking consultation and almost instantly, learning new skills such as financial and personnel management, and establishing a partnership with the Board of Trustees.

Then we met accountability in the form of school reviews by our external review agency. The realisation came that we had to meet certain regulatory obligations and at the same time prove that we were providing a balanced education for our pupils. Comparisons were made and the theory of school effectiveness emerged. The study and the debate began.

The Education Review Office in its publication *Good Schools Poor Schools* (1998) identified nine characteristics for effective schools at the Decile 1 area:

- well governed;
- no compromise on high quality curriculum management;
- good systems of monitoring and reporting on student progress;
- high priority for staff professional development;
- barriers to learning are identified and met;
- learning needs of Maori students are understood and met;
- supportive physical and emotional environment;
- positive community links and communication;
- effective financial management.

The study goes on to say that these characteristics may also be seen in schools in high socio-economic areas. However, the policies and practices of the different schools would have to vary. What is missing is effective leadership or management. Professor Townsend's paper contrasts two views on this aspect with, as he describes, two key international thinkers divided in their thinking. I pose the suggestion that in New Zealand the effectiveness of the school is directly related to the quality of the leadership. Stewart, Prebble and Duncan state that a key role of leadership is to build unity and cohesion within the school community. David Hart, General Secretary of the British National Association of Head Teachers, further supports that. He is clear that it is the direction in which heads are determined to go, and their skill in winning the support of staff, pupils, parents and government on the way, which determines the success or failure of schools. We have much anecdotal evidence here to prove that it is true, and they are not those in the headlines, although they may once have been. It is therefore a matter of debate why there is no as-of-right training for principalship in New Zealand. There are so many stakeholders in our schools that to have a common opinion on whom or what constitutes an effective school is difficult. Each of our 2700 semi-autonomous schools, each with their own charter, each with their own special character, could in fact be an effective school in part. Perhaps we should rewrite the research.

> On this evidence, the case for the positive effect of self-management on learning quality is nowhere near proven.

That statement by Professor Townsend brought out the 'Otago' in me, straight to the terraces of the House of Pain, the jeers, the complacent smirks, the 'get real' comments, the flag waving— it's not like that in New Zealand! So off I went to my colleagues for the most accurate research. Do you believe that self-management has improved student outcomes, and how can you demonstrate that it has? 'Yes' was the quick confident answer—'but'. The 'but' of course was the struggle to accurately demonstrate a consequence of the reforms that proves improved student outcomes.

They were, however, all adamant that they would not want to return to the 'old' system. Most had a perception of aspects that may have impacted on improved outcomes for students. For instance they cited the ability to select quality staff, particularly in those areas where there are no staff shortages. They recognised the opportunities available to make decisions to provide effective resources, and to develop along with their communities a unique school climate. The focus on professional development was seen as valuable, and the development of Principalship as a profession was believed to have had an impact.

Direct learning outcomes of the reforms cannot be measured because prior to 1989 there was no systematic national monitoring. The National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP) which began in 1995 is able to give that information now, and with the introduction of the new curriculum, schools are developing their own systems to review educational outcomes.

One reason for the implementation of the reforms, which was to improve the education of low income and Maori pupils, has made very little progress. The (NEMP) data cannot give us a before and after comparison, but they do show that the disparities in student achievement related to children's home circumstances and ethnicity, which the reforms were intended to remedy, are still marked (Wylie, 1997). With recent reviews of groups of schools in particular areas in New Zealand which are consistently under-performing, the questions must be asked: is the 'one size fits all' system of governance the best model? This tends to prove Townsend's statement that ". . . if we try to improve all schools at once, only some will succeed".

Cathy Wylie's document states that *Tomorrow's Schools* does work because, in brief, the core work of schools has continued. What makes it work, she has found, is the very heavy workload taken on by principals and teachers and the voluntary time given by Boards of Trustees. Like our Victorian (Australian) counterparts, success is also due to fund-raising to supplement the Operations Grant.

A New Zealand Principals' Federation survey, 1997, gave the alarming news that only nine percent of our teachers wanted to be principals, citing the main reason as the heavy workload and growing accountability chain, together with conflict, which although it is still minimal, is given prominence in the media.

My observations have shown that those schools with a good leadership, a clear vision and common purpose have been the ones to succeed despite the Decile level. They have achieved a good balance between governance and management and are confident that they are focusing on their core business of teaching and learning.

There is frustration at times that there are circumstances which prohibit the ability of such schools to develop in different directions. There is frustration at the level of accountability required, and despite the self-managing concept, the necessity to comply is still maintained to the extent that innovation could be said to be stifled.

According to Professor Townsend it could be argued that if schools are going to survive into the longer term, then they need to change. Here in New Zealand, despite the many changes over the past nine years, they are still coming. Are we all clear on the real reasons why *Tomorrow's schools* was introduced? I think if I asked you all here today to give me a reason, we would get many. For instance it is possible that some remember little of what it was like before 1989, except perhaps, when David Lange stood in a class of eight year olds on TV and said "Parents have a say in your child's education!" We should also consider that there are some teachers in our schools now who don't know what it was like before the reforms. Before it was predictable, we could tell someone's age by the books they were taught to read from. There were the Progressive Primers, Janet and John and then the Little Books. Now it is totally unpredictable, books are all different sizes, we are as we have heard today, at the whim of Governments, pressured by external factors such as international results, and Treasury reports. The standards movement is in full swing, as are national testing schemes all around the world. We have accepted the changes, many of them, well, some of them. We also continue to need to question the reasons.

"At the end of the day," says Roger Kerr, Executive Director of Business Round Table, "it is a question of whether we want all important schooling decisions to be made for us by educational bureaucrats and their academic colleagues, or by teachers and their principals working in collaboration with parents." Harsh perhaps but worth thinking about, and to that statement I would add, *for the specific purpose of improving the education of our students.*

School self-management and effective schools—compatible? was the question asked by Professor Townsend.

I believe that we have many effective self-managing schools. Conversely, there are others, given the same set of circumstances, who are less effective. Affirming and enthusiastic support for ideas and processes will suit some of us more than others, as will the capacity to create and communicate a climate of support and a culture of acceptance, sharing and participation (Burford, 1998).

My answer would be, I am a principal in a self-managing school, *yes* I believe it is possible to be effective—*but!*

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SCHOOL SELF-MANAGEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND—HOW CAN IT MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE?

Cathy Wylie
New Zealand Council for Educational Research

Any anniversary provides a useful point to step aside from the usual round and think back on what has been achieved, in order to make the best effort to shape what lies ahead. A tenth anniversary is especially encouraging of such stock-taking. I believe we have reached a cross-roads in the history of self-managing schools, and the evaluation we make, the terms in which we evaluate, and the process, can head us off well-equipped for a demanding future, or turn us sideways to a frustrating cul-de-sac.

I offer an evaluation today which starts with the premise that the aim of self-managing schools is not simply to become self-managed, but to make a positive difference for learning. Self-managing schools should also be effective schools.

We have achieved self-management in schools, through great efforts, especially for principals, teachers, and trustees. But have the reforms had any **effect** on students' learning and achievement? Our NZCER surveys show us that by 1996 34 percent of primary principals and 24 percent of teachers thought the reforms had had a major positive impact on the quality of children's learning in their school. Schools which had increased or stable rolls were much more likely to report positive impacts on children's learning than those who were the losers in the more competitive era. And low-decile schools were over-represented amongst these losing schools. Schools which had co-operative rather than competitive relations with other schools also felt more positive about the reforms (Wylie 1997).

If we look at other data available to us, such as the data from the National Education Monitoring Project, or the TIMSS study, or the material from NZCER's Competent Children project, we have remarkably little to show for all the effort put into self-managing schools in terms of closing the gaps between advantaged and disadvantaged children.

The gains in Maori student achievement, which saw a large drop in those leaving school without qualifications, occurred between 1985 and 1990—before the reforms had really taken hold. The proportion of Maori students leaving without qualifications was 60 percent in 1985, 35 percent in 1990, and in 1997, 38 percent. Helen Ladd and Ted Fiske's analysis of School Certificate results show them declining in low decile schools since the early 1990s. It's hard to see how we can raise overall standards if this gap remains, or increases.

We also know that systemic self-management, coupled with unregulated school choice, creates winners and losers. If popularity is used as a gauge of success—or effectiveness—it also creates "failures". Yet oddly enough there is a social pattern to the schools which struggle in the new system, something which suggests that the perception of failure is more to do with the framework within which schools must operate, rather than effort at the individual school level.

Low decile schools lost students. Nash and Harker (1998, p. 24) show that the average decile 1 secondary school lost 10 percent of its students; decile 10 schools gained on average 11 percent. When the Ministry of Education reviewed its school decile ranking after the 1996 Census, it found that 38 percent of the schools which increased their decile ranking also increased their rolls, or market share. The NZCER surveys show that the primary schools which lost students between 1989 and 1996 were also low decile, or else with rolls under 35. Yet these schools had done what they were supposed to do to attract students in the more competitive environment in which we have set self-managing schools in New Zealand. They had made changes to curriculum, assessment, their reporting to parents, and increased their self-promotion.

We have little data allowing us to compare overall standards before and after the introduction of school self-management. (The fact that we have no national data from before the reforms might give pause to those who regard the former system as more centralised than the new system). I have compared the 1996–1997 PAT and Burt word reading test averages of our Competent Children study sample with the averages achieved when the tests were standardised for New Zealand in the 1980s, and find no change (Wylie, Thompson and Lythe, forthcoming).

This lack of marked improvements in overall standards and the continued existence of gaps between advantaged and disadvantaged children is not unique to New Zealand, but is consistent with the low returns in terms of *effectiveness* experienced in other systems moving to place school self-management at the centre of their educational administration.

What might this indicate to us?

That shifting responsibility and accountability to the individual institutional level is not the answer to improving educational effectiveness.

That if we keep driving down the self-management path, we will end up in a cul-de-sac, circling back on ourselves, continuing to feel disappointed and discouraged. What do we need to change if we are to be able to look back 10 years from now and see a real closing of those achievement gaps? What do we need to do to see that we are getting real value for the effort expended?

My argument today is that we are unlikely to see any improvement unless we examine the context in which schools operate, and are prepared to make changes at the systemic level. This level is beyond the control of individual schools. Self-managing schools, like any other kind of school, do not exist in isolation. They are not, and cannot be, self-contained. Effective schools—those that can make a real difference—need effective systems to sustain them. I don't think we can ask schools to be effective until the system as a whole is more effective, and we are providing schools with the support they need. To support this argument, I want to look now at what the research literature on school effectiveness and school improvement has to say about the linkages between schools and systems, to provide a framework for looking at the aspects of the present system which make it hard for our schools to be as effective as they could be.

Linkages between Schools and Systems

The first thing to note in the research literature on school effectiveness and school improvement is the presence of external support. Nowhere is there an assumption that schools can, or should, be left in isolation, self-managing or not. A parallel which might make some sense to those who continue to think that school self-management must mean autonomy or nothing is to think of what we understand about families. Isolation too often breeds unhealthy tensions; families flourish where they participate in wider networks of support and contribution; they flourish where there is adequate, healthy housing, and sufficient food and stimulus for the body, mind, and spirit of each family member.

Tony Townsend noted that the effective schools literature has moved away from the checklists with which it started. Checklists, on their own, are ineffective, and can be misleading. Think of what it takes to be a good baker. The books all tell you that it's not just a matter of measuring correctly, but the quality of the ingredients (a crucial matter to which I'll return), and matching the environmental conditions—allowing for humidity, for cold. Dough set to rise in a warm window might do better than the same dough set outside in higher temperature, if there is a draft. The finished loaf reflects external conditions as well as internal ingredients.

Yet it is the checklist approach which has been to the fore in the Government's approach to encouraging effective schools: definitions of principal and teacher competencies for school boards and managers to use. This fits within the overarching contractual approach to public sector management, and the belief that boards' main role and lever with schools is their role as employer. But it doesn't fit with what we know about creating and sustaining effective schools, effective performance.

To emphasise the role of boards as employers makes the education sector more conforming to the generic model of public sector management. To pursue bulk funding, or full funding as it is now known, also relies on a generic model to bring about positive change. It relies on an ever purer model of school self-management.

In England, there is a parallel with bulk-funded schools—grant-maintained schools; there as here, deep and wide resistance from schools to this policy was heeded only to the degree that it was presented as a voluntary option, an option larded with additional resources. Around a quarter of English schools ended up grant-maintained; at present we have around 20 percent as a result of the Government's latest promotional scheme. The fact that a minority of schools received greater funding simply because of their status, rather than student need, has been divisive in both countries.

We have no analysis yet in New Zealand of the comparative effectiveness of bulk-funded and centrally-funded schools. Recent work just completed in England does give us some comparison between schools given more autonomy and others. It shows that grant-maintained schools did not add more value over time than others—but that grant maintained schools did increase their scores by starting with "lower levels of social disadvantage" and becoming more selective of their students (Levacic and Hardman 1998:17). Levacic and Hardman comment that "Given that additional finance was channelled in the direction of the grant-maintained sector, the absence of evidence that grant-maintained schools are more effective in relation to academic outcomes than LEA schools is indicative of poor value for money for the grant-maintained schools policy." *(Ibid).*

They suggest from other research findings that one reason for this lack of difference of an advantage for the more 'pure' model of school self-management was that schools opted 'out' to gain more money or more autonomy, not to pursue goals of school improvement in terms of student achievement. The policy in New Zealand has been targeted precisely to appeal to these same motives, particularly the gaining of additional resources, after the cumulation of years of erosion of the purchasing power of the operational grant (Gilling, 1998).

Levacic and her colleagues have also shown that the competition brought about by school self-management and enhanced parental choice, does not increase student achievement in external examinations. Those who had, continue to have. They are able to select students, rather than the reverse. Parental choice has not been increased, and it is even more difficult for students from disadvantaged homes to access a wider range of schools. The schools serving those who have not done well in education continue to find the task difficult, but also find themselves hampered by additional costs and pressures as their rolls ebb.

These findings are consistent with other studies related to competition and the other assumptions behind a market approach to education. A self-management/choice model doesn't increase the effectiveness of schools, nor does it increase their efficiency. In a review of the literature relating to educational vouchers which I've just completed, I could find only two quasi-voucher systems which made some difference to school effectiveness, and showed some signs of closing the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students (Wylie, forthcoming). In both of these, the system shares responsibility with schools by providing them with external support through resources, evaluation, and making changes. Only by the system taking responsibility for equity by paying transport costs, and, in the most favoured case of Cambridge, Massachusetts, by keeping student selection away from schools, can voucher systems avoid the additional social segregation which we see in all other choice systems. This increased social segregation undermines any hopes of closing achievement gaps; it also tends to favour traditional approaches to teaching and learning, and the running of schools.

If we continue to take this path, then we will still be talking about the problems of under-achievement and socially unjust and wasteful gaps between students in 10 years time, and feeling just as frustrated that we can do anything about it.

What about the policies and resources which are aimed more directly at the work of schools, at teaching and learning? After all, the Ministry of Education and the Education Review Office have not divorced themselves totally from a support role. There has in fact been an increased willingness over the last few years to recognise areas which cannot be tackled successfully by individual schools.

Unfortunately, the checklist mentality, and the hope that all one has to do to make a difference is set it down on paper, are to the fore in this support. This is partially a result, of people trying to work as creatively as possible with inadequate resources. Yet it also reflects the separation of government departments from schools, and the separation of government departments from each other, a separation which the public sector reform framework deems both necessary and advisable.

But this support role is limited, and it is not accompanied by *sustained* professional development. At the moment, central funding for professional development is usually limited to new initiatives; it is not ongoing, and it is contestable, meaning that the number of schools applying for it will always outweigh the number who can be accommodated. These are clear signs of a desire for professional development and for external stimulus which cannot be met within schools' individual budgets or human resources.

We have no follow-up of the contracts which are awarded to individual schools—no evaluations of how change occurs, how it is sustained, whether the fillips of curriculum contracts create the self-evaluating, 'learning' organisations that the research literatures on school improvement and economic and social sustainability talk about. Are new networks created among schools? Do new linkages exist between different parts of the system? Are we creating more energy, more synergy? Are educational understandings entering into educational policy? Or are we still trying to shape education to a generic model, which constrains its capacity rather than improving it.

In a recent comparison of school-based management with what they call 'research and development' approaches, Emily Calhoun and Bruce Joyce (1998) provide a very useful analysis of the complexity of improving learning and teaching, with some clear pointers about what works.

The first pointer is that 'what works' doesn't work. The 'what works' approach is the one which seeks to identify good practice, develop curriculum materials, and disseminate it to schools. This is a limited 'R and D' approach; this is what we have seen in the ERO evaluation reports (along

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with checklists and admonitions); this is what we see in some of the Ministry's Curriculum Development Updates; this is the approach taken more severely in England, with the introduction of literacy and numeracy hours, and OFSTED reviews which favour whole-class teaching compared to group-work. It can be a technicist approach, creating cooks of limited skills and repertoire.

Calhoun and Joyce discuss the more open-ended R and D work done in the US in the 1950s to early 1970s. This work focused on developing curriculum packages based on "what knowledge/ process is of most worth in an area of study and what strategies/interactions will cause students to use this knowledge in school and in the future, while simultaneously providing general intellectual development" (p. 1288). If the packages were shown to have positive results with students, then they were publicised and disseminated. They conclude that while much of the development work, which involved teachers as well as academics and researchers, was useful, particularly for enhancing thinking, problem-solving, and the capacity to learn, the projects fell down in the implementation phase. They fell down sometimes because their content was too far ahead of conservative views of education (the lag effect we see here). But they also fell down because "the developers greatly underestimated the amount and type of training necessary for those who would adopt the model or use the process developed." (p. 1289), and because "successful implementation depended on the *self-renewing condition* of the schools into which they were introduced." (p. 1290)

So, are self-managing schools also 'self-renewing'? Calhoun and Joyce give an estimate from US studies of self-managing schools that only about 10 percent of the schools have been able to generate initiatives that substantively changes the curricular, instructional, or technological dimensions of the school." (pp. 1292–1293). Self-managing schools that did make changes had:

- support from outside,
- made student learning the heart of their school development work, and
- had substantive staff development.

They also "provided time for collegial activity that would sustain innovations. For the most successful sites, the amount of time was equal to approximately 1/10 of the work week and occurred on a weekly schedule" (p. 1294).

The NZCER 1996 primary school survey shows that only 37 percent of teachers had some non-contact time each week—much the same as the 35 percent in 1989. Of those who had some time, 39 percent had an hour or less, and 30 percent, 1–2 hours. Planning competes with other activities for this limited time.

So we don't seem to have the conditions in our schools which would enable self-development, self-renewal. Nor is there any systemic support to change this. We don't see a set amount of time for planning offered by the Ministry of Education in the collective employment contracts, for example. There is nothing mentioned about the importance of planning and school development in the otherwise laudable work of the Mathematics and Science Taskforce, which resulted from New Zealand students achieving below the average on the Third International Mathematics and Science study—yet those countries which did best were the ones whose schools had regular planning time, with an emphasis on curriculum and learning rather than administrative arrangements (Budge, 1997). Our focus is too narrow: what can be done *in* schools, not *for* schools. We are not paying enough heed to the conditions which foster effective schools.

The Mathematics and Science taskforce is a good example of the current ad-hoc nature of the systemic response to evidence that things could be better in our schools. It arose from the TIMSS research (the fact that this robust picture of national achievement was given by a sample of students and schools makes one question the stated need for mandatory national assessment of every child in order to get information on national achievement). It will provide useful resources, in a variety of forms, and some linked professional development. But the funding for this work is included only in the budgets for the next three years. The work on the forthcoming IT strategy, which is likely to have a professional development strand, also has a time-limited budget. While this may be par for the course for new initiatives, it tells us that realistic curriculum support is not regarded as core work for the Ministry of Education, not as valid and identifiable a budget item as, say, legal advice. Subjects rotate in the central support available to them; there is no sense of a sustained programme of support or development for each area that would provide schools with reliable and current sources of material for school development.

There are other projects and programmes which have developed quietly around the boundaries between policy and operations over the last few years. These acknowledge the limitations of the model of autonomous self-managing schools, even though they may be phrased in terms of 'protecting the crown's investment'. They include:

- The district truancy services, which "provide a back-up to schools' work on absenteeism and truancy" (Minister of Education 1998:64), which are growing rapidly (60 in 1997, 115 in 1998), and the national Non-Enrolment Truancy Service. Truancy is particularly high for low-decile schools.
- The Schools Support Project, described as a "safety-net" for schools having difficulty. At the end of 1997, 98 schools were engaged in action plans to resolve particular issues, and another 10 schools were completing business plans to see how viable they were. These are schools which have actively sought assistance. An evaluation of the impact of this kind of support is due some time later this year. Tellingly, many of the schools getting temporary help of this kind are also low decile schools.
- Five school clustering projects began this year, designed to allow schools to share resources; each project covers a number of clusters, with several hundred schools involved nationwide.
- Geographic hot-zones—Mangere-Otara (Ami-Hi), East Coast, Northland.
- Christchurch school development project.

These projects are rationed. Both in terms of coverage, and in terms of time. They are regarded as temporary measures, things that can provide lift-off for a stranded school, and which schools can take over by themselves. It's a medical model of support: presentation with a defined problem, which will be relieved with the taking of the right medication, for the prescribed period of time. This goes against the grain of what the research can tell us now about the complexity and sustainability of school improvement.

Accountability versus Evaluation

What about the role of external review? Does that help schools to become effective? Here there are also mixed messages. Some aspects go in the right direction, yet are often overwhelmed by the context in which they occur. Some schools have found ERO reviews useful in terms of helping them improve learning and teaching; but these are in the minority.

David Nevo (1998), editor in chief of the journal *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, suggests that evaluation that is not grounded in real dialogue between the evaluators and evaluated will not produce change in schools.

> If a dialogue develops between external and internal evaluation parties, a joint sense of responsibility for the consequences may also develop. . . . the school cannot be left alone to cope with the findings of evaluation. The evaluating authority must commit itself to a full partnership in developing solutions to the problems that will be revealed. . . . Leaving the school alone to solve its problems not only decreases the chance of finding appropriate solutions, it implies that the school itself is to be blamed for these problems. And accusations, more than stimulating problem solving and constructive action, arouse defensiveness and counter-accusations. Unfortunately, demands for accountability and the use of parental choice as a remedy for school problems are, in fact, examples of the tendency of education systems to *not* share with their schools the responsibility of bearing the consequences of school evaluation. (p. 87)

This summary of the counter-productiveness of what Nevo calls assymetric evaluation fits with what has happened in England and New Zealand: both systems which have privileged certain forms of accountability, and choice.

England has gone further than New Zealand in taking accountability to mean the publication of evaluation results, the ranking of schools, and the 'naming and shaming'. This took place in two different ways. First, the Chief Inspector's use of the media to make continual attacks on teachers. That has left a dangerous legacy behind it of low morale and defensiveness, and has made a contribution to the decline in applications for teacher training. The gains of this approach are difficult to discern.

Second, individual schools were singled out as ineffective, non-performing, and subject to special measures. They were named in the newspapers. This approach has just been dropped, after a recognition that in most cases this simply made a situation worse rather than improving it. Not only did staff feel shamed: so did their students. These schools were mostly in low socioeconomic areas.

Most of the schools named and shamed got external help, some sought, some foisted upon them. An analysis of what happened to schools which failed their first OFSTED inspections—again, mostly schools serving low socioeconomic communities—showed that the critical factor for those which managed to make some improvement was the extra resources and support given to them by their local education authority (Mortimore 1998:307). In other words, the load was shared: the wider system accepted some responsibility.

In New Zealand, we have had special reports on three areas singled out for the poor quality of their schooling. All low-income, with many high Maori enrolment schools. That these three areas had problems has long been known within education. The ERO reports did not uncover something new, though they did show that within the current system of self-managing schools, the schools' own efforts had been able to make very little headway, and that concerted external support for change was necessary. But surely we should be endeavouring to provide this support as part of an ongoing system, without the additional cost of publicity, and the negative consequences that brings for all involved (including students, including ERO).

And again one has a sense of rationed attention, rationed effort. The spotlight can only swing to one area at a time. There is an expectation too that the extra resources which will be directed to these areas can be limited, that they will not have to be ongoing. I keep thinking about the caustic experiences of people working in third world development: Ethiopia, Sudan, Papua New Guinea- the money pours in for crises, but is much, much harder to find for the ongoing and less dramatic work of capacity building. And, at a deeper level, governments give aid with one hand, while pursuing trade or monetary policies which undercut even this support.

Like England, we have adopted a model of school accountability which pivots on external accountability reviews. The evidence is unclear in both countries on the impact of such an approach on school self-development, our best chance for school improvement, but it tends to fall on the side of doubt that it leads to real and sustained change for many schools. One of the main reasons for this is the assymetric nature of the review; another is that review has been uncoupled from support: responsibility has not been shared.

In the old system, inspection went hand in hand with support. This was seen as a weakness by the Picot taskforce. Not for educational reasons, but because it did not fit the prevailing model of public sector reform. That model rests on separation of what are termed 'policy' and 'operations', and on a distrust of providers.

This artificial separation of review from support is a theme which is very clear in the two studies so far done of ERO (Robertson, Thrupp, Dale, Vaughn and Jacka, 1997; Wylie 1997). Let me quote from one of Robertson *et al.'s* case studies, the principal of a decile 1 school. ERO did not give this school a good review. It left a list of things which should be remedied by the time of its return. The school passed muster when ERO returned, but the changes were short-term, superficial: complying rather than contributing to ongoing development. Yet this was a school which would have welcomed support, which was looking for fresh ways forward.

> The review office must have an enormous wealth of knowledge from the number of schools they go to, which they do not pass on. They must have a lot of models they see. I don't know much about the old system, but at least they could grill you in a grading, but they'd then come back the next day and arrange for you to go to schools where they'd seen a good model. (Robertson *et al.*, 1997:112–113)

Note too that the role played here by the central agency is one of facilitation. The principal is not asking to be given a recipe, or to have his hand held. He's taking responsibility for his school. But he's expressing the isolation which is not uncommon where schools are treated as separate units, and where any networks are dependent on individual initiative and energy. Because self-managing schools mean high and intensive workloads for principals and teachers, the networks are weaker than they used to be before *Tomorrow's Schools*. They cannot be relied on to provide systemic support of the kind that is necessary for schools to work effectively.

Because of this artificial separation, and the location of responsibility in the school alone, ERO reviews are less effective than they could be. They are not accompanied by ideas, contacts, or the chance to talk through any issues that have been identified with someone who has a wider experience.

There would be no disagreement among the writers I have mentioned today with ERO's push for schools to become more self-evaluating, better practised at gathering and analysing material about themselves. I think this is an entirely laudable emphasis for ERO. But it is also clear from the research on self-managing schools and school improvement that until that push occurs:

- within a new set of relationships, based on dialogue rather than contract,
- on shared responsibility rather than central regulation through the mechanisms of accountability and educational markets,

self-evaluation is unlikely to be widely adopted or used other than to show compliance. It will not develop school or systemic capacity; we will not see more self-renewing, learning organisations.

The latest approach which is being taken to shape schools from afar is mandatory national assessment at the primary school level. The framework shaping the present system leads logically to concerns with providing publicly available information about student progress, and allowing schools to compare themselves with others. These concerns outweigh others about the impact of inter-school comparisons, and their validity (Thomas, 1998). League-tables damage the very schools which have the hardest row to hoe with their students, and they confirm parental choice of schools based on avoidance of these schools. The isolation of these schools is simply entrenched.

From what we know of the complexity of assessing the 'value-added' by schools (Nash and Harker, 1998; Thomas, 1998), the benchmarking proposed is likely to be superficial and potentially misleading, since it will not take into account initial ability. The chart showing student progress across the years in ERO's latest proposal looks like the chart of height gain. In other words, it assumes that the measure will be common across the years. But curriculum content changes; so do appropriate tests for children.

Just as important is the continued emphasis on publication. This stands in contrast to the innovative work on value-added based evaluation being carried out in Lancashire. The work is showing that it is difficult to define an effective school—that few schools are uniformly effective for all their students, in all their subjects, or with patterns that remain stable over time. But the main purpose of the work is to provide schools with analytical tools to use in diagnosing what they would like to change, and what the priorities for change might be. The local education authority works with schools in this process. This is what we can think of as a modest systemic strategy: it is not announced in response to a crisis; schools are not 'named and shamed' in the media, nor are league tables able to be constructed by reporters from individual school reports. Individual school reports are confidential to the schools involved, and Thomas (1998) emphasises the importance of such confidentiality to the work of making real change.

And all the work on making changes, particularly ones which change schools as a whole, and which develop their capacity, are clear that it is demanding, that it takes concerted effort, that those who embark on this work need nurturing, rather than exposure to additional exterior demands or pressures which will add nothing to the work of focusing on learning and teaching. To me, this indicates a mandatory rule of thumb for any new policy or demand: how will this help schools in their work (not, how will this help them become self-managing).

ERO's most recent national assessment proposal also rests on the assumption that parents are not getting enough information about their child's progress from schools, and that if they could see their child's achievement compared with national averages, they would, if they thought that achievement unsatisfactory, become more involved in their child's education. And again, this is a laudable aim, to involve parents in their children's education, enlist their support, and bridge the gaps between home and school. This is one of the key challenges in education. Schools need to inform parents, work with them, bring parents into the school.

But is mandatory national assessment the way to do it? I doubt it. Again, it's a checklist approach, one encouraged by trying to find cheap (at the national level, but not at the individual school workload level) and uniform ways of doing things. It carries unnecessary costs for schools, but does not ask each school to find its own ways of working with parents, suitable to its community. On the one hand, schools are asked to carry responsibility alone; on the other, they are told how they must do this. The principle of self-management rubs uneasily against the principle of accountability, and common currency.

So the question arises: what are the barriers that prevent government agencies from providing schools with the support they need to become effective, or to remain effective?

I would like to suggest the following:

- Schools have moved on from becoming self-managed to being self-managing schools. Self-management is no longer a goal at the school level. But it has remained a goal for government, to the obscuring of the real work of education.
- The separation of policy and operations, and the separation of policymakers from schools. You might recall that one of the faults found with the previous system was that one could talk, and joke about, an 'education family'. The new system operates from a different logic, and prefers to avoid the blurring of lines or multiple lines of communication and development. This fosters the development of policy which can be uninformed by educational knowledge, and knowledge of how schools work. At the start of the reforms, we saw working groups formed to translate the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy framework into viable form. These working groups included people who were not government officials. The work of these groups made a real difference to the initial acceptance of the reforms, the determination to make the most of them, and to their practicality. Yet we do not have such groups today, or only in curriculum areas, such as the Maths and Science Task Force. We do not have the linkages to strengthen the system, make it more integrated and coherent. Nor are we recycling our school expertise through the system as we used to. This creates inefficiencies and unnecessary wastage.
- The wider policy framework within which the education departments operate; and beyond that, of course, economic policies which have intensified social inequality.

The research on school improvement and school effectiveness, coupled with the research on self-managing schools, especially those operating in quasi-market systems like New Zealand, leads me to conclude that we do not have the conditions to expect every school to be an effective school. We cannot ask schools to be effective if our educational system is ineffective.

But the cumulative research evidence also leads me to think with hope of what could be changed, and how positive change could occur.

I suggest the following:

1. Educational principles should underpin educational systems and policy.
   Such principles could be:

   - will this improve learning and teaching?
   - will this narrow achievement gaps?
   - will this enhance equity?
   - will this support or undermine schools as self-evaluating, self-renewing, lively enterprises?
   - will this encourage learning organisations, and a learning society?

2. To move to a system where learning and capacity building is at the centre, we need to increase the linkages between schools and government departments, to have real dialogue. A set of task-forces or working groups involving teachers, educationalists and officials might provide a bridge to move from our present segmented system.

   Michael Fullan quotes Karen Seashore Louis's work on effective secondary schools which distinguishes between 'coupling'—a relationship which has some shared goals and objectives, reasonably clear and frequent communication, and mutual coordination and influence and 'bureaucracy'—'control through rules and regulations' (Fullan 1991:41–42).

   I would like to note here that sometimes we see a narrow or literal approach to regulations. Regulations aren't simply legislation. Regulations are the framework within which schools operate. They include forms of accountability, contractual requirements, performance management systems, and quasi-market approaches to funding and school enrolment. In New Zealand education, the constraints on innovation and equal opportunity to good quality education lie not so much with regulations, as with the primacy given to accountability, contractual frameworks, and the quasi-market.

   Louis goes on to conclude that "the only clearly positive district contexts are found in cases . . . which are tightly coupled and non-regulatory . . . Essentially the picture is one of co-management, with coordination and joint planning" (Fullan 1991, pp. 41–42).

   We need this at the local level—and there are signs of this sometimes quietly occurring; we need it between local and national levels, and at the national level.

   We need more recognition and support for those who have kept working during the reforms at trying to maintain networks of support and stimulus, those who try to share resources, including knowledge, and their own experiences of making change. At present, this essential systemic work cannot be maintained by individuals without some cost to themselves.

3. *We must work on sharing responsibility.* Infrastructure; teacher supply, and the promotion of equitable access to good quality education—all these are beyond the ability of individual schools to decide or maintain. These are the proper responsibility of central government agencies to fund, and to work with those in schools on the design of robust policy whose implementation will have few 'unintended consequences', or negative effects.

Then we might have the grounds for moving into the next millenium. Like Tony, I can't see how we're going to get there from here unless we stop being so narrowly focused, and work on the linkages, rather than remain preoccupied with the fences and defences.

Tony's question for the discussion groups was—How would you design schools now, to take us into the next millenium? My question is—How would you design the government agencies now, to fit with that vision?

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SCHOOL SELF-MANAGEMENT AND SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS: POLICY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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Introduction

Thank you for the invitation to talk to you about the ERO's views on the key policy and research questions for school self management and school effectiveness.

The effectiveness of schools in promoting student achievement is a key concern for ERO and the subject of most of our investigations and reports. The quality of schools' management systems, including their self-management systems, is one of the fundamental factors that influence school effectiveness and one of the areas we examine in our evaluations.

ERO reviews find a wide variation in the effectiveness of school management systems. However, certain patterns emerge over time that have caused ERO to carry out analyses of schools in areas where problems appear more common.

Over the last three years ERO has carried out three cluster evaluations of the effectiveness of schools within defined geographical districts. The results of these evaluations have been reported in:

Improving Schooling in Mangere and Otara (August 1996);
Improving Schooling on the East Coast (October 1997); and
Schooling in the Far North (August 1998).

The cluster evaluations were carried out as a result of our concerns about the effectiveness of many schools in these districts and the lack of any substantial improvements over time, despite a large number of follow-up reviews.

For each these reports, the evaluations were based on information contained in ERO regular reports and on a programme of visits and consultations.

The cluster evaluations have enabled ERO to examine the extent to which different factors that influence school effectiveness apply in different contexts. One of the issues we are interested in is whether clusters of poor performance arise primarily as a result of local factors, or whether they are due to the concentration in some districts of common factors affecting the performance of all schools.

Results of the Cluster Evaluations

For those of you who are not familiar with them I will briefly summarise the key findings from our cluster evaluations.

Firstly there is a caveat. The evaluations for the East Coast and for Mangere and Otara are now one and two years old respectively, and there may have been developments since they were published.

While the reports can be seen as a snapshot of a historical situation rather than a current assessment, this does not reduce their value in terms of assessing factors causing poor performance among groups of schools.

Mangere and Otara

In 1996, *Improving Schooling in Mangere and Otara* highlighted particular problems with the performance of school boards. This report showed a link between poor governance and poor teaching. It found that a major factor was the inability of trustees to understand their governance role, and hence to undertake it effectively.

In particular, the report found that boards with a majority of Pacific Islands representatives were unlikely to feel comfortable with any approach that they might perceive as a challenge to the authority of the school principal. Interestingly, in most cases the principal was seen as the dominant authority figure, rather than, say, the board chair.

The report considered that improving the general competence of trustees was essential to establishing a proper balance between boards and principals. It proposed ongoing training and support to develop the management skills of trustees.

The report also found that there were unusually high numbers of teachers who, for a range of reasons, were not performing well in Mangere and Otara. It put forward proposals to improve the performance of current staff and to recruit or second high quality teachers from other areas.

The East Coast

In 1997, *Improving Schooling on the East Coast* identified long-standing performance problems in almost all the schools in the district, particularly in curriculum delivery and performance management. The report found that difficulties in recruiting and retaining teaching staff and accessing support services were major issues, because of the district's remote location.

It is hard to mitigate remoteness itself. However, little or no advantage was taken of potential economies of scale that could be gained through schools acting collectively. None of the schools had actively considered amalgamating boards or sharing resources.

The report considered that more steps needed to be taken to recruit high quality teachers and to develop the management and curriculum competencies of existing principals and teachers.

The Far North

This year, *Schooling in the Far North* found that a high proportion of schools in the district have performance problems, particularly in curriculum delivery and performance management. Many also have problems ensuring student safety.

Many students in the Far North experience multiple barriers to learning—such as a combination of drug abuse and family poverty. Schools vary in the extent to which they are successful at identifying and addressing these barriers.

The performance of schools in the Far North, however, was not found to be uniformly poor. Rather than the broad systemic and structural solutions recommended in the other two reports, in the Far North ERO proposed to undertake targeted evaluations of schools to identify the precise factors contributing to good performance by some and poor performance by others.

Factors Affecting School Effectiveness

From these studies ERO has identified a number of specific factors that we believe influence school effectiveness in the three districts. These may need to be the subject of further research and, perhaps, of policy change.

I should first point out that none of the factors I am about to discuss was of itself critical in determining effectiveness. The extent to which each factor was important depended on the presence of other factors and the overall circumstances in each district.

Students' Home Environment

In all three districts, a high proportion of students came from home environments that had few financial resources and may not support learning. Students were educationally disadvantaged and experienced barriers to achievement.

While some schools were successful at overcoming barriers and providing a high quality education, others were not able to take the necessary steps to combat the educational disadvantage experienced by their students.

As a result of the *Targeted Funding for Educational Achievement* (TFEA), the total level of funding per student is considerably higher in the three districts than the average for New Zealand. In most cases TFEA funding in schools in disadvantaged areas exceeds the level of locally-raised funds in schools in more advantaged areas.

Some schools in the three districts are successful in using their additional funding in ways that contribute positively to student achievement. Some schools were more successful than others in identifying and overcoming barriers to learning and had the skills and knowledge to put appropriate programmes in place.

Implications for Policy and Research

Research may well be needed on the relationship between the level of operations funding, management performance and student achievement.

Where boards are unable to make effective use of their TFEA funding, the Government may need to design different interventions and consider whether a greater degree of central direction is necessary to ensure that student learning is not placed at risk.

Teacher Quality and Supply

Attracting and retaining a sufficient number of high quality teachers was a particular problem in schools in the three districts. This was partly a result of the poor reputation of many of the schools and the difficulties considered to be faced in teaching in these schools.

In the East Coast and in some parts of the Far North, because of the isolation of the schools, it is necessary for teachers to live in the same tight-knit communities as they worked. Teachers from outside the region sometimes find it difficult to fit in.

These problems were less acute for schools in Mangere and Otara, where it is realistic for teachers to commute from other parts of Auckland. Similarly, in parts of the Far North, some teachers chose to live in more desirable areas and to travel daily to schools in the surrounding district.

Implications for Policy and Research

All three reports identified the need to investigate the development of training programmes specifically designed for teachers in the district. Because of the remote location of many of the schools, the most successful programmes are likely to be those that focus on training based in the area provided either in-house or by distance education.

Consideration also needs to be given to how to develop further the competencies of principals. Teaching principals working in small rural schools have particular training needs. In particular they need mentors to whom they can turn for management advice and for discussion of professional issues.

In areas where there are effective schools close to those that are performing poorly, as in the Far North, an appropriate response may be to investigate ways of assisting principals to share their expertise with neighbouring schools.

Quality and Use of Early Childhood Education

In all three districts, the impact of the poor performance of schools was exacerbated by limited access to high quality early childhood education.

Participation in early childhood education was lower in these three districts than in other parts of New Zealand. Children who did participate were more likely to attend kōhanga reo than other types of early childhood service.

Early childhood services in disadvantaged areas face the same difficulty as schools in recruiting and retaining high quality staff. Since the overall level of education in the community is low, the supply of staff is limited. This problem is particularly acute in the case of kōhanga reo, because not only do kōhanga reo staff need to be able to deliver early childhood education programmes effectively, they must also be fluent in te reo Māori.

Implications for Policy and Research

The low participation rates in early childhood education in the three districts reflect a range of financial and non-financial barriers to access experienced by families in disadvantaged areas. Research may be required into the nature of these barriers and their relative importance, to assist in developing policies to target groups who are currently under-represented in early childhood education.

Trustees With Limited Expertise

Schools in the three districts are located in communities with lower levels of educational qualifications and management expertise than those in more advantaged areas. As a result, many trustees lacked the knowledge and skills necessary for effective governance.

However, the importance of trustees' expertise as a factor influencing schools' effectiveness should not be over-stated. Many schools in each of the three districts have had performance problems since before the introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools*. This suggests that trustees' inability to meet new obligations and responsibilities is unlikely to be the main reason for poor performance, although it has failed to correct the problems.

Implications for Policy and Research

To ensure that trustees can improve their understanding of boards' obligations and responsibilities, it may be necessary to consider ways of improving their access to advice and support, including high quality training programmes that are targeted directly for them and offered at convenient times and locations.

School Size and Location

In the East Coast and, to a lesser extent in the Far North, schools are considerably smaller than the national average. This is mainly because they are in rural areas in which there are many small communities, each with its own school. In Mangere and Otara, schools are much larger.

In small schools it is more difficult to provide the full range of curriculum areas and to employ teachers with a range of skills and experience. There is no critical mass of management and professional expertise from which trustees and teachers can seek advice and support.

These problems can be exacerbated in the case of schools located away from large centres of population. Remoteness not only influences teacher supply but also renders less available professional development and advisory services, at least at a realistic cost.

Implications for Policy and Research

Where there are a number of small schools a relatively short distance from each other (as in the East Coast and in parts of the Far North), the Government may need to consider structural changes to create economies of scale in the provision of schooling.

In the East Coast, the ERO cluster evaluation recommended that consideration should be given to combining boards, appointing administrators shared between schools and sharing curriculum expertise between schools.

The use of information technology has important implications for small schools. Information technology strategies will need to take into account the potential of IT to expand the range of curriculum opportunities for students attending small schools.

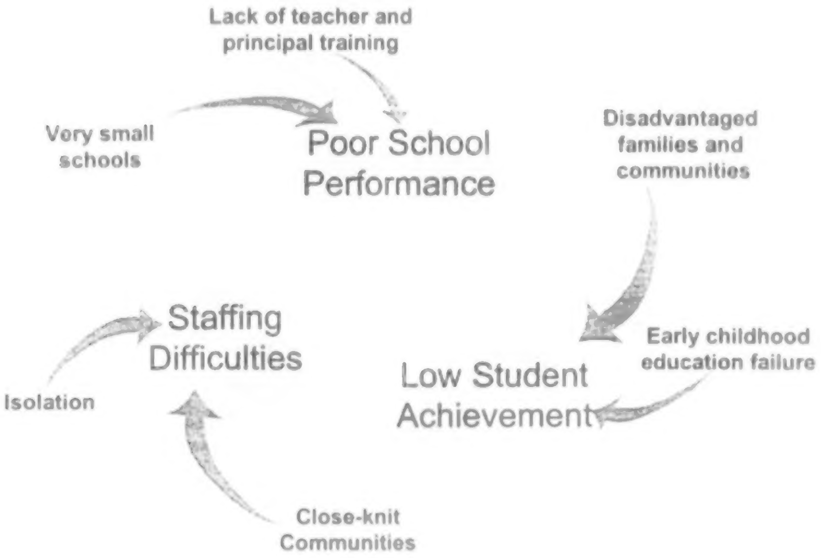
The 'Spiral of Decline'

While the precise reasons for poor performance varied among schools in the three districts, once they were seen to be ineffective, schools entered a spiral of decline that had a common pattern across a wide range of schools.

High calibre teachers did not want to work at these schools and this affected the quality of education provided. Schools were seen as undesirable by parents and as a result they experienced falling rolls. This led to forced redundancies among teachers, further reducing staff morale, removing any opportunity for fresh ideas through appointing new teachers, and restricting the breadth of the curriculum.

One of the few factors that was successful in reversing the spiral of decline was the appointment of a visionary principal who was not afraid to introduce change and who was able to attract high calibre teachers to the school. However, ERO investigations found that although the appointment of a new principal was initially successful in 'turning the school around', improvements in schools with long-standing performance problems were not always sustained when the principal left the school.

The 'spiral of decline' and its relationship with other factors influencing school effectiveness schools are shown in this diagram.


Lack of teacher and principal training
Very small schools
Poor School Performance
Disadvantaged families and communities
Staffing Difficulties
Early childhood education failure
Low Student Achievement
Isolation
Close-knit Communities

Conclusion

ERO's evaluation of the three different districts where a high percentage of schools had performance problems showed that the factors at work in each district had many similarities and some differences.

Schools in all three districts faced the need to identify and overcome barriers to learning arising from the disadvantaged social and family circumstances of students. They found it difficult to attract high calibre teachers and this affected their public reputation and the quality of education they were able to provide.

While a high level of educational disadvantage was a common feature in all three districts, the barriers to learning experienced by students varied according to factors such as whether they lived in urban or rural areas and the ethnic mix of their communities.

Other factors such as small school size and geographical isolation appear to have some influence on school effectiveness, but these factors were not invariably present in schools that were performing poorly and appeared to be a problem only when they were combined with other factors.

Just as there are both common and local factors affecting school effectiveness, so too policies to improve effectiveness will have features in common but will also need to include specific local solutions developed to address problems in a particular district.

Our three cluster evaluations have included recommendations to assist in improving the quality of education delivered by schools in each district. The detailed recommendations have varied, but all three reports have suggested there is a need to go beyond administrative matters and to design interventions which will have a tangible result in improving standards of teaching in the classroom.

The three cluster evaluations have helped to identify specific risk factors—other than living in a particular district—that are likely to be associated with poor quality education. These factors include disadvantage in a school's community, limited access to high quality early childhood education, small school size and geographical isolation.

In the future the ERO intends to use these factors as the basis of specific investigations. We invite you also to take our findings into account when selecting priorities for policy and research.

EFFECTIVE SCHOOL SELF MANAGEMENT

Howard Fancy
Secretary for Education

Tomorrow's Schools have become today's schools. *Tomorrow's Schools* represented a new beginning not an end.

Today I would like to project out to 2011 in order to speculate on the desirable characteristics of a school system and to think about what would help get us there.

Let's imagine it's 2011.

I have just received the OECD's review of New Zealand's education system.

I would like to read to you the Executive Summary of that report (noting that even in 2011 education and public sector jargon seems to have changed little!)

> This review discusses the reasons behind some of the remarkable achievements of the New Zealand education system of the past decade.
>
> New Zealand now consistently features amongst the top five countries in international measures of educational outcomes of student achievement.
>
> The wide achievement gaps that had existed between Maori and Pacific Island students and other students at the start of the millennium have narrowed dramatically as has the divergence between the achievement of boys and girls.
>
> In the twenty years since the *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms were put in place the school system has become characterised by a much wider range of school structures and governance arrangements. These have evolved from the moves of a decade or so ago, to encourage clustering arrangements and school improvement reviews.
>
> Today, there is a much greater number of schools being governed by one Board. In rural areas, schools are networked with each other and often to larger urban schools.
>
> A number of schools now operate on a multi-campus basis. Some schools have become more strongly integrated with early childhood provision while others have developed very strong relationships with tertiary providers.
>
> The evolution of governance arrangements has allowed better ways to develop, better ways of involving the community and parents in a school and the education of their children. These also recognise the importance of Boards having the necessary skills to provide the overall direction and governance of schools.
>
> The New Zealand system is driven by a very clear focus on educational outcomes and by the quality and transparency of information that is available to teachers, schools, parents and learners.
>
> This includes information both about education outcomes, education value added and best practice. This information has not only helped to establish a clear sense of standards but has also allowed school leadership to use this information to motivate their schools to keep seeking improvements. It has helped lead to much stronger relationships and dialogue between schools and communities. Schools, the education profession, communities and policy makers now engage in more open debate and discussion about education outcomes and the best ways to lift them.
>
> There is now a high level of community and public acceptance that where students at a particular school are not reaching understood and acceptable standards of achievement, that early and decisive action must be taken. It is accepted that in some instances such action may mean changes to the management or governance of a school or even its closure.

> New Zealand now has one of the weakest linkages between socio-economic status and education outcomes.
>
> Helping bring this about, has been the ways in which educational delivery has been integrated effectively with the provision of health and welfare services. The *Strengthening Families* initiatives of ten years ago were the precursor to a wide range of ways in which schools, in partnership with social agencies, provide support for students.
>
> Surveys of the profession show that New Zealand teachers are amongst the most motivated in the OECD. They are supported by strong professional associations that in turn are motivated to promote best practice and high standards.
>
> Leadership in schools is characterised by the successful integration of educational, human resource, organisational management, financial and information disciplines.
>
> This has enabled the effectiveness of a teacher's time in the classroom to increase very substantially as each teacher is better supported by ancillary staff and curriculum moderators. Moderators tend not to have a teaching load but work very closely with a range of teachers to help assess students' progress, the effectiveness of particular teaching programmes and to help analyse blockages that are limiting the ability of an individual student to progress.
>
> The teaching profession is well supported by training providers who are very responsive to the professional development needs being identified by schools and the teaching profession. These needs reflect both current professional development and the future skills that are anticipated to be needed by the profession.
>
> Learning technologies are being used to facilitate a large volume of professional dialogue across the country. The majority of schools now access some forms of remote education as part of their day-to-day teaching programmes as well as to access areas of curriculum expertise that may not be present in the school. Widespread use of technology also seems to have been instrumental in bringing about very strong linkages between the research communities and the teaching professionals.

Having painted that picture of a school system in 2011, let me now talk about what would help move us from where we are now into that world.

Managing in an Uncertain Changing Environment

Running through my comments are four themes, that I think are important aspects of improving school effectiveness, namely:

- seeing resource issues as much about improving the overall effectiveness of what is spent as they are about additional money;
- promoting and spreading best practice;
- increasing understanding of how best the learning of a student can be supported by the combination of teachers, family, community and wider social policy interventions;
- the skills and information that would help all the participants in the education process increase the effectiveness of their roles.

I think it is important to recognise the changes that are likely to take place in the environment that surrounds schools.

The ethnic diversity that will characterise our schools and our communities will increase as will the diversity in social circumstances between communities and within communities.

Information technology offers the potential to lead to quite significant changes in the teaching practice, school management, as well as to the times and places of learning.

International factors are likely to become a much more predominant influence.

Some parts of New Zealand will be responding to roll growth while other parts will be adapting to roll declines.

The skills required by employers will continue to change quite rapidly and this will feed back into the design of qualifications, the curriculum being offered and the expectations held of the school system.

Expectation of our education system will continue to increase as will the intolerance for perceived failure. Successful responses to these pressures are likely to see a range of strategies and approaches adopted.

Such approaches are likely to reflect differences in leadership style and approaches as well as the particular characteristics and strengths of a school and its community.

For example, what works in the East Coast or in a small rural community or in a big urban school is likely to be quite different.

Put differently, both policy and practice cannot be driven by a 'one size fits all' approach.

It points to the need for policies to be more enabling of different ways of doing things.

However, by themselves, more enabling policies do not guarantee good outcomes any more than does 'self management' in isolation.

Ensuring Decision-Making at Student Outcomes

The challenge is how do we ensure that decisions at all levels are been driven by an effective focus on student outcomes.

I use the term 'effective focus' advisedly. I think our education system, education policy, and education professionals would be much better served by a much more explicit focus on student outcomes and on quality assurance than is the case today.

As an aside I see some of the best examples of schools reporting to their community are being quite explicit about educational objectives and the reporting of progress towards these.

I think we should be working towards establishing more explicit expectations of quality and standards. In doing this, we do need to recognise that such standards and expectations will both rise and change over time.

I think it is important that schools and parents have access to data and research that better informs the expectations that they should hold for their children and students.

Clearly the debates around national assessment, the announcements being made later today and the approaches to accountability have relevance here.

We would need to recognise that quality is not a one-dimensional thing, in the sense that not all parents and not all students want the same thing.

Therefore future indicators of quality would need to capture a diversity of interests.

It needs to be understood that quality cannot be summed up in one test or set of exams and that 'process' quality is also important.

An example of process quality might be seen in the way schools demonstrate how they use student assessment to evaluate the effectiveness of their teaching programmes and how they modify these teaching programmes in the light of that feedback.

I recognise that there are challenges in this area for the profession, policymakers and researchers.

I recognise that quality in education is not simply measured. Data does require careful interpretation. Here, the research and professional community has an important role to play to help 'educate' the public in careful presentation of complex information and in interpretation.

The quality of the interaction between the school, the home and its wider community is critical to a student's success. Tomorrow's schools have created the opportunity for these links to be strengthened, but it does not guarantee they will.

The Importance of Wider Community Support of Student Learning

It seems to me that one characteristic of an effective school is the way it responds and adjusts to its community, as opposed to those schools who look to their communities adjusting to them.

An effective school needs to have a good understanding of its community. This understanding needs to go beyond the decile characteristics of its community. A school needs to know whether it is a community of 600 parents or ten communities of 60 parents. It needs to recognise and understand the relative strengths in the communities and consider whether differentiated approaches would help better involve parents to a far greater extent in the effective education of their young children.

The evidence from the consultation on Maori education that the Ministry undertook last year is that these home-schools links are still much weaker than desirable in many instances. Many parents still feel relatively powerless and intimidated in their contact with schools. They are intimidated because of their own experiences in the system. They feel powerless because they lack the information on which to base an informed discussion about their children's progress and prospects. Rectifying this situation is a key challenge for both policy makers and the profession.

The work we are doing with the different communities across the country, including the emphasis we are placing on bringing a stronger integration between education and social policies seem to be fertile areas for more research and understanding to inform policy processes, school practices and the more effective delivery of social services.

The Importance of Professional Leadership

The quality of leadership is clearly critical to school effectiveness. Again I see a number of dimensions to this.

Leadership is clearly different from management. When visiting schools, one quickly gets a sense of the motivation and enthusiasm of trustees and staff. One quickly finds out whether this is a school that looks for opportunities or is simply weighed down by problems and constraints.

The quality of school governance is critical to the success of professional leadership. Providing overall direction and overseeing principal performance are to me, the key tasks of the Board of Trustees. The reality that different school communities vary in their capabilities in this regard is a strong reason why we need to be prepared and able to accommodate different approaches to school governance.

The wider concepts of professional leadership focus on the vital importance of strong linkages between training providers, the research community and teachers. It is important that links between schools and teachers and the academic, research and policy communities keep strengthening.

Nuthall and Alton-Lee comment on the importance of research into classroom learning, drawing on descriptions such as anthropology, linguistics, discourse analysis, literacy criticism, as well as psychology and sociology.[1] The need to go multi-disciplinary also applies to the area of management and leadership. In tomorrow's world there does need to be a willingness to draw insights and perspectives from other disciplines. Many schools are large employers by New Zealand standards. To succeed, they need to be able to develop and effectively utilise management, change management and organisational practices. Approaches that have brought success in other parts of the economy need to be evaluated as to their relevance and potential adaptation into a school setting.

Two Examples

As I visit schools and discuss education issues with almost everyone I meet, I get a sense that all the ingredients of effective schools exist. The challenge is how best to draw on the myriad of examples and bring them all together within more schools and across schools.

A report by Keith Sawyer, Deputy Principal of Wairarapa College, illustrated this point after he was given leave to examine practices that some different New Zealand and Australian schools were following to encourage, support and develop their most able and least capable students.[2]

He concluded that while some schools had good programmes for some groups of students,

> Very few schools have effectively planned to cater equally well for both. Where this had happened, a clear process had emerged involving the school in an examination of its own philosophy, its educational priorities and policies, which in turn have been implemented in a practical way for the school to achieve its goals.
> This has meant:
>
> - an educational debate at Board of Trustees and staff levels;
> - examination of student needs;
> - a survey of best practice/research;
> - a decision taken by some combination of Board, senior management, curriculum committee to devise a programme for that school.
>
> Appropriate selection of the person to lead and organise this initiative has been crucial.

He also went on to comment on how the success of the programme required the issues of budgeting, timetabling and close communication with the school community, to be well managed.

I recently visited a school in Mangere. What impressed me was not only that it was focusing its resources on the priority of raising the literacy base of its students, but the integrated and comprehensive way they were doing this. To achieve this, a number of steps were being taken.

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[1] *Student learning in the classroom.* Report to the Ministry of Education, June 1997.

[2] Saywer, Keith (1998). *Achieving potential. A resource for secondary schools.*

The senior management in the school was investing in the development of diagnostic tools for its Maori students. They had appointed a literacy moderator. This person did not teach. They assessed all students and provided feedback to individual teachers both on the changing learning needs of their students and the effectiveness of specific teaching programmes.

To support this work, the school had initiated a research programme alongside this programme to evaluate the effectiveness of all that was being done. This included evaluating how assessment information was being used to modify teaching programmes.

Parental and whanau support was seen as vital to the educational success of those children.

To substantially increase parental involvement and support, some teachers went to the homes rather than expecting the home to come to them. Recognising the difficulties parents had in making time to visit the school during their work, and the need for a longer discussion, parents, whanau and students were invited to the school at weekends to share in a 30 to 45 minute discussion. This showed what their child should be able to do at their age, what in practice they could do, what barriers were limiting the learning of that student and to explore the best ways in which the family could support the learning of that student.

As a result of these interactions, parental or whanau support of the learning of individual children had increased dramatically.

Final Comments

Schools can and should make a difference. While variation between schools will always occur, we need to work towards both increasing the effectiveness of all schools and at the same time reducing the degree of variation.

Policies can help create an environment that encourages innovation, high quality and self improvement. They can make it easier for schools to adjust and adapt. They can provide the framework through which parents and schools can work together.

Policy can help establish benchmarks for standards. They can help ensure good transparent information flows. They can clarify roles and responsibilities. They can help ensure intervention occurs when a student or school fails.

But policies can only do so much.

Nor do I see the issues in terms of more money. At the end of the day it is people that make a difference.

It is the qualities and abilities of the teacher, the leadership and culture of the school and the relationships between that school, parents, learners and its community that make the real difference.

Running through my comments is a strong emphasis on the importance of recognising and investing in the skills and capability of teachers and principals. Their efforts need to be informed and supported by a robust, researched understanding of what works, in what circumstances and why.

There needs to be a clear identification of the skills, the competencies and the information that are required by all the participants in the education process.

As my two examples showed, that within existing resources, with the right leadership and motivation, higher levels of effectiveness are within reach.

A LOOK AT WHAT'S AHEAD

Richard Harker
Massey University

The Conference theme, Effective School Self-Management: What's Ahead?, juxtaposes concepts from two areas of study that are not commonly considered together:

- the 'School Self-Management' movement which reached some sort of climax in the early 1990s; and
- the 'school-effects' studies which have been conducted since the mid-1980s.

The juxtaposition has been extremely illuminating, and we were fortunate to have the benefit of Professor Townsend's comprehensive review of research, and his ideas on how these two areas interact. Using some of the same concepts, Dr Wylie was able to 'anchor' the debate into the New Zealand context, based on a review of local studies, of which her own work forms a significant part. The debate revolves around some key issues:

- What constitutes 'effectiveness'?
- What is the proper balance between education as a private good and education as a public good?
- Can the outcomes of schooling be reduced to a few quantitative indicators?

Underlying the positions that we may take up on these issues are a number of assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), the nature of knowledge itself and how we can 'know' anything (epistemology), and the things that we value as 'worthwhile' knowledge (axiology).

We really need to engage with these issues quite seriously—all too often they are dismissed as 'academic', 'airy-fairy' waffle, and are replaced with slogans that downplay the diversity of our society ("we are all New Zealanders"), and see such diversity as always divisive.

The market model that underlies the 'self-management' movement and many of the quantitative 'school-effects' studies, is always in danger of assuming that everyone concurs in the 'world view' held by the promoters of this particular ideology. In making this assumption the market model has not been good at dealing with dissent in any productive way (though co-optation is always a 'carrot'). The social costs of 'market driven', 'user-pays' regimes, are vastly under-rated, discounted, or not even considered in the cost-benefit calculation. The 'blame' for social inequities is laid at the door of the school system, as if it were somehow responsible for poor economic performance, the lack of available jobs, and increasing social disfunctions.

What Sort of Solutions?

A recognition that a coherent approach is necessary—effective education is not just a problem for schools, but a community-wide issue. It is very pleasing to see that Government is recognising this by the range of new initiatives which they are now resourcing in significant ways. The new 'school-support' provisions are a positive step to the future, and a recognition of the complex set of relationships that exist between education, economics, and a positive valuing of cultural diversity.

Also necessary is a recognition that criticism of school performance needs to be 'backed' by effective support, advice, and a range of policy developments in such areas as housing, family support, and employment that will allow the schools to build a positive future for their students.